ITALY

AND THE

ALIAN ISLANDS,

FROM

THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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ITH ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD BY JACKSON, AND ILLUSTRATIVE MAPS
AND PLANS ON STEEL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

The plan of this work is founded upon that of its predecessors belonging to the same department of the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY. The history of the revolutions, political, social, and intellectual, through which the Italians have passed, in ancient as well as modern times, is combined with a description of the antiquities, the scenery, and the physical peculiarities of the interesting region which they inhabit.

Although several particulars of this design have been admirably handled by others, yet, in our language at least, there does not exist any popular survey of Italy, embracing, like that which has here been attempted, all its most important relations. If the results of such a survey are clearly arranged, and set forth with sufficient fulness, they surely promise both to aid the researches conducted by the young student in his closet, and to facilitate the observations of those who become pilgrims to the distant south.

It is for others, who may favour these volumes with an intelligent perusal, to pronounce a judgment as to the writer's qualifications for his task. He may venture to say, however, that it is one for which, upon undertaking it, he was not altogether unprepared. He had resided in Italy for a considerable time, in the years 1833 and 1834; and, not only during that visit, but before and after it, his attention had been earnestly directed to the literature and art of the nation, to its social economy and political vicissitudes. The composition of the work,—at once recalling speculations and images from many delightful hours of reading and of travel, and affording a motive for the systematic study of topics r

mastered but in part,—has been throughout its whole progress a genuine labour of love.

A specification of all the authorities that have been consulted would be cumbrous in the extreme. On the other hand, a book of this kind wants half its utility, if it does not guide the student to the principal works in which he will find more elaborate narratives, proofs, and reasonings. These considerations have dictated a rule for the references contained in the notes. Even when original sources have been most industriously studied, the secondary authorities alone are indicated, if these appear to furnish the reader with adequate assistance.

Literature, art, and topography—the themes most generally attractive—occupy more than one-third of the whole space. Nearly two-thirds are assigned to the history of the people, recounting their diversified political changes, and describing the aspects successive' assumed by society and national character. In the discussion of all these topics, decided prominence is given to the practical and useful; a rule suggested equally by the nature of the series with which the work is connected, and by the deficiencies which are most perceptible in the popular books regarding Italy.

As to literature, indeed, efforts in poetry and its kindred walks of thought are, with few exceptions, the only specimens on which it seemed expedient to bestow a critical analysis; but all departments of mental cultivation have been considered as entitled to some attention.

The development of the fine arts is traced in historical order, with due regard to recent theories and discoveries; and the point chiefly kept in sight has been the illustration of the tastes from which those pursuits take their rise, as phenomena in the intellectual progress of the nation. Of the innumerable monuments, however, which fall within the sphere of such a review,—from the castles of the primitive barbarians, and the temples or idols of the Greeks and their Roman scholars, down ·ˀtures, the sculptures, the churches, and the

palaces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—very many are here pointed out, while not a few are minutely examined. In almost every instance where allusion is made to works of painting or statuary, their late or present place is specified.

The classical topography derives variety and relief from its union with sketches of natural scenery; and, although it is impossible to avoid numerous omissions, not only has the selection been carefully conducted, but the present appearance of the most celebrated spots is either slightly noticed or fully described. Repetition has been prevented by limiting the illustrations of modern topography almost entirely to the cities.

In the sections appropriated to national character and habits, inquiries are instituted into the statistical position of the people, both in the classical and in more recent times; while fair scope is also sought to be afforded for those dramatic elements which impart life and energy to such a picture.

In the historical chapters, traversing rapidly a field of vast extent, selection is an imperative duty, in the performance of which it is not difficult to find a rule of preference. Wars, and conquests, and all those other external causes which produce revolutions in states, must be related for the sake of the consequences to which they lead: some minuteness of biographical detail is necessary for awakening an interest in the fate of illustrious personages. For one period of Italian history, and for one only, it has here been thought advisable to refuse to such themes the ample room which is usually allowed to them. In regard to the whole duration of the ancient Roman world, both republican and imperial, all facts of this class are detailed in popular books, and must be familiar, in a greater or less degree, to most readers. A general knowledge of such particulars is accordingly taken for granted; and the outline of them is designed merely for correcting incidental faithlessness of the memory. In the narrative of the events which distinguish all other periods, both the external causes of

change, and the personal characters of the actors, are treated with as much minuteness as the limits and general purpose of the work permit. But Italy, which has twice become the teacher of wisdom to the nations, presents, in her chronicles of twenty-four centuries, topics possessing infinitely greater importance, and illustrated at every step by materials which, in our own day, have received invaluable accessions. On quitting the times through which we accompany the bold theories of Niebuhr and his disciples, we reach others for which a clue is furnished by the masterly generalizations of Savigny; and to the tempestuous scenes which next rise upon our view, picturesque animation is imparted by the fervour of Sismondi, and consistent clearness by the sagacity and the philosophical eloquence of Hallam. To inquiries like theirs,—to the elucidation of political institutions in their growth, their maturity, and their decay,—the most prominent place has been allotted in all the chapters belonging to this class. Throughout those chapters, however, endeavours have been used to reconcile that fulness of information which systematic students are entitled to expect, with other qualities which may awaken sympathy for the incidents of the story.

Thus much may suffice as to the principles which have governed the choice of topics, and the manner of dealing with them. It will be useful to add some explanations in regard to the arrangement.

The work is divided into Three Parts, devoted respectively to the three great stages in the past fortunes of mankind,—the Classical Times, the Dark and Middle Ages, the recent centuries which are assigned to Modern History.

In the beginning of the First Volume is placed an Introductory Chapter, which briefly describes the circumstances marking most distinctively the annals of the Italians, both in politics and in intellectual exertion, together with the principal features in the geography and landscapes of their country. The remainder of the volume belongs to the First Part of the work. It treats

successively the history of the Roman republic and empire, the literature, art, and topography of those times, and the character and habits of the heathen nation.

The Second Volume opens with the concluding chapter of the First Part, which traces the Christian antiquities of Italy till the fall of the Western Empire. The Second Part comprehends the thousand years which elapsed between the usurpation of Odoacer and the consolidation of modern polity at the close of the fifteenth century. A connected survey of all the most remarkable characteristics which developed themselves during the Dark Ages, introduces a more circumstantial representation of Italian vicissitudes during the eventful times that followed. For each of the two eras into which it has been found convenient to divide the Middle Ages, the historical narrative is united with a sketch of the state of society and manners; after which literature and art are treated separately. The volume then enters upon the Third Part. The first chapter of this division continues the history of political changes to the French Revolution of 1789; and the fate of literature and art during the same period is afterwards traced. Melancholy lessons abound in the public events of those three hundred years, during which the records of the nation that once ruled the world present but one unvaried tale of foreign and enfeebling servitude. The magnificence of speculative and imaginative achievement which immortalized the sixteenth century, contrasting so painfully with the wretchedness of active life in all its relations, calls for exact inspection and detail.

The historical portions of the Third Volume are entirely confined to the events which have occurred since the French Revolution. The proportional magnitude of the space allotted to so short a period, seemed to be justified not only by the nearness of the facts to our own times, but by their permanent interest and importance. The three chapters thus appropriated embrace, in succession, the revolutionary era till the fall of the French republic, the ten years of Napoleon's empire,

and the generation which has followed the reinstatement of the ancient dynasties. An analysis of modern topography holds the next place; an outline of Italian literature and art in the nineteenth century occupies a short chapter; and a very long one illustrates the character and habits of the modern nation. To this survey succeeds a sketch of the natural history and resources of Italy and its islands. In the treatment of this subject, the writer entertains no aim more ambitious than that of presenting, in a familiar shape, selections from the materials already collected by men of science; and the facts which their research has unfolded are considered, at every step, with a view to their influence on national industry. The last chapter is exclusively statistical. It contains numerical results under many heads, which, in preceding places, were considered historically; and to these it adds other particulars which could not be previously introduced, on account of their nature or their want of connexion with public events. This chapter is calculated merely for reference; but those who may think proper to use it in that way will find, it is hoped, no inconsiderable amount of practical information.

To the Third Volume is subjoined a copious Index for the whole work.

With the exception of the three vignette titles, the engravings are maps and plans, the subjects of which have been chosen, not for show, but on account of their real usefulness.

EDINBURGH, *February* 1841.

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ITALY

AND

THE ITALIAN ISLANDS.

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IT has been the destiny of the Italians, and of no other European people, to be illustrious in each of the three periods of human history. Ancient Italy, Italy in the Middle Ages, and the Italy of Modern Times, have successively, each in its own sphere, outshone the glory of all contemporary nations.

Ancient Italy has bequeathed to us magnificent memorials of literature and art. Its true fame, however, lies in the events of its political annals. Art, so far as it was in any sense national, was introduced by the Greeks, a race of settlers sprung from foreign blood, and unlike the older inhabitants both in manners and intellect. In literature, and even in some departments of philosophy,

the ancient Italians were more active; but there also they were pupils of the Greeks; and few, even of their best writers, did more than repeat eloquently the lessons which they had learned. The political history presents a picture quite dissimilar. In its scenes, the most imposing which have ever been displayed, we see the nation obeying its own impulses, and drawing from its own character and deeds both its rise and its decay. The Romans, at first the burghers of a single town, and afterwards no more than one brave tribe among others equally brave, gradually conquered all the petty states of the peninsula, and stamped on the whole country their strong character and their name. Their power then crossed the Alps and the sea; and the whole known world was proud to serve Rome, and to be called Roman. But their republican period, extending to nearly five centuries, witnessed the infancy, the bloom, and the decline, of their genuine political greatness. For two centuries more, we linger over the history of Italy, to watch the farther development of literature and art, which grew under the empire like exotic plants beneath an artificial shelter. The ancient period of Roman greatness begins with the republic, and ends about the year of our Lord 180.

The Dark and Middle Ages, which together make up the second great chronological stage in the history of mankind, embrace for Italy ten centuries, commencing in the year of grace 476, and ending about the year 1500. Their last five hundred years, from 1000 to 1500, may be described as the Middle Ages of Italy, a period of activity and transition, very unlike the five dark centuries which had preceded. For the Italians, the Middle Ages were an era of such grandeur as even their ancient history had not paralleled. The vicissitudes of those wild times, and the events which have followed them, resemble one of those gigantic processes, by which nature, the instrument of the Maker, formed in the beginning vast tracts of land in the peninsula itself. Amidst earthquakes, darkness, and lurid bursts of fire,

an island rises from the sea. The seasons decompose its cliffs; the winds and the birds clothe its volcanic soil with vegetation; and the mariner, whose father saw the rock emerging from the waters, wanders through its vineyards, and over its grassy hills. From the convulsions which followed the dark ages, modern Europe has derived the elements of political freedom, of literature, and of art; and those convulsions had in Italy their earliest and most powerful focus. The passions of the people were then nearly as undisciplined, their vices were almost as revolting, as in the palmy days of heathen Rome; but heroism and virtue were seen in frequent glimpses, and Christianity, ill understood and ill practised, sometimes lifted its voice like music through the storm. The main political event of the middle ages was the formation of the Italian republics, which, successively flourishing and withering, transmitted the inheritance of liberty during more than four hundred years, and did not, till late in the fifteenth century, allow it to be entirely lost. Nominally indeed it survived yet longer. Those were the earliest free states of Christendom; and they teach us inestimable truths by their defects and crimes, as well as by their glory. In literature and art, the Italians were infinitely stronger in that period than they had been in the classical times. They no longer copied foreign cultivation, or plundered its monuments. They were inventors; and their inventions became the models of all Europe. Their literature, which at the end of the thirteenth century was only in its infancy, in the fourteenth stood forth more vigorous and original than in any age preceding or following. Their art struggled against obstructions for four hundred years; but before the end of the fifteenth century, it had completely unfolded its principles, and nobly exemplified them.

Modern Italy is a name which awakens regrets, but also inspires, in the mind of the nation, a well-founded pride. The period to which the term refers, commencing in the year 1500, has now endured nearly three centuries and a half, a period during which the country,

sunk in unredeemed political servitude, has been portioned out by foreign sovereigns like a slave plantation. But in the sixteenth century, the first of the modern cycle, Italy was intellectually great. Her literature attained its highest point of cultivation, and produced its third series of splendid works. Her art stood higher still; for in sculpture, in architecture, and yet more decidedly in painting, her names at that period were the most illustrious of Christian Europe. Even the seventeenth century was not altogether dark; but its brightness was the reflected light of evening. Indeed, in the sixteenth century itself, no new path was opened; for the spirit of its literature and art was directly prompted by that which had ruled in the later middle ages. In this want of essential originality, and yet more strikingly in the harvest of fame which it gathered on the ruins of liberty and national character, it formed a close parallel to the Augustan age.

The points of eminence, intellectual and political, which have been now marked out, constitute the true greatness of Italy; and on them our attention must be steadily fixed. They are all contained in what we may call THE THREE ILLUSTRIOUS PERIODS of Italian history. These comprehend one section in each of the three great chronological divisions which are recognised in the history of the world. The Illustrious Period in Ancient Times (B. C. 510—A. D. 180) embraces seven centuries: that which extends over the Middle Ages (A. D. 1000—A. D. 1500) includes five centuries: and that of Modern Times (A. D. 1500—A. D. 1600), endured for one century, and no more. If all records but those which belong to these three periods, and all other monuments, should cease to exist, Italy would still be reverenced as the birthplace of political wisdom, and the cradle of literature and art.

But, like other countries, Italy has periods of history which must be carefully studied, although they reflect little honour either on her political character, on her morals, or on her intellect. The poet may content

himself with looking up at the star when it culminates; but the astronomer must calculate its rising and setting. It is our duty, and the performance of the duty will bring its reward, to trace the greatness of the nation back to its sources, and to accompany it hastily through its phases of decay.

These subordinate stages are included in Four Periods, which may be called *The Secondary Periods* of Italian history. The first two of the Secondary Periods belong to Ancient Italy. The First, the primeval age, precedes the Ancient Illustrious Period, and ends at the establishment of the Roman republic (B. C. 510). The Second (A. D. 180—A. D. 476) succeeds the Ancient Illustrious Period, and ends, after an endurance of three centuries, with the fall of the Roman empire in the West, which closes the history of the ancient world. The Third Secondary Period (A. D. 476—A. D. 1000) belongs to the second great division of history. It comprehends the Dark Ages, which intervene between the close of the Ancient History and the Illustrious Period embracing the Middle Ages. The Fourth Secondary Period belongs to Modern Italy. It succeeds the Modern Illustrious Period, and extends from 1600 to the present day.

The First Secondary Period is fruitful beyond measure in matters of curious antiquarian speculation, but, being barren in facts and lessons, it may be passed over very rapidly.—In the Second Secondary Period the political annals embrace the decline and fall of the Western empire. During that time the Christian faith silently diffused itself, like a healing odour, through the pestilential atmosphere, and was at length established as the religion of the state. A history of early Christianity in Italy would be an undertaking quite foreign to the purpose of these pages; but the subject might be fully illustrated, from the apostolic times down to the corrupted age of the Lower Empire, by monuments and scenes which can be still identified. To these, and to the infant Christian literature of the country, our attention will be willingly accorded.—The Third Secondary Period, that

of the dark ages, was a time of almost unmixed misery and ignorance; but it has left in Italy numerous records and monuments, which strikingly illustrate the religion, politics, and arts, of the ages which succeeded. It is especially memorable as having witnessed the foundation of the papal sovereignty, temporal and ecclesiastical.—The Fourth Secondary Period would extend, if historical events were to be its measure, from the year 1500 to the present time. We have already, however, upon other grounds, excepted from it the sixteenth century; and therefore it will include only the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the portion which has already elapsed of the nineteenth. This period is not barren either in art or literature; but it derives its chief importance from the facts in it which illustrate the present political state of the country, and the character of its society. Its latest public events, commencing with the French revolution in 1789, will claim minute attention.*

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* In the subjoined chronological table of the periods of Italian history, the divisions anticipate some points which will call for subsequent explanation; but the table may not be without its use as an introductory clue.

I. *First Secondary Period—Ancient—Ending in the year* B. C. 510.

II. FIRST ILLUSTRIOUS PERIOD—*Ancient—From* B. C. 510 *to* A. D. 180 -*Seven centuries.*

Political greatness—The Roman republic—B. C. 510 to B C. 32—Five centuries.

Greatness in art—B. C. 460 to A. D. 180—Six centuries.

Greatness in literature—B.C. 204 to A.D. 180—Four centuries.

III. *Second Secondary Period—Ancient—From* A. D. 180 *to* A. D. 476—*Three centuries.*

IV. *Third Secondary Period—The Dark Ages—From* A. D. 476 *to* A. D. 1000—*Five centuries.*

V. SECOND ILLUSTRIOUS PERIOD—*The Middle Ages—From* A. D. 1000 *to* A. D. 1500—*Five centuries.*

Political greatness—The republics—A. D. 1000 to A. D. 1500—Five centuries.

Greatness in literature—A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1400—One century.

Greatness in art—A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1500 - One century.

VI. THIRD ILLUSTRIOUS PERIOD—*Modern—From* A. D. 1500 *to* A. D. 1600—*One century.*

Greatness in literature and art—One century.

VII. *Fourth Secondary Period—Modern—From* A. D. 1600—*Two centuries and a half.*

We cannot but feel a lively sympathy in the fate of a nation which has done and suffered so much. We must therefore attempt to analyze, so far as our materials will allow us, the political institutions, the state of the church, and of education, religion, and morality, the prevailing habits and character, and every other element which may enable us to form an accurate notion of the present condition of the Italians, or to speculate on their future prospects. Many causes concur in obstructing the progress of such an inquiry; but its interest rewards all exertions; and even imperfect results will be excused, where complete knowledge is so difficult of acquisition. Nothing should be considered as unworthy of notice, which promises to throw even a transitory ray of light on the subject. The lowest of the people will be the class among whom our investigation will be most successful; and, from their deepest superstitions to their gayest diversions,—from the kindest effusions of their warm-heartedness to their crimes and the punishment of them,—from the legends and jests of their leisure to their labours in the cottage or the field,—every new feature of which we can catch a glimpse will aid in filling up the picture. Even dry statistical details will here possess importance; and it will be desirable to trace as minutely as possible the results of productive industry, their effects on the condition of the various States into which the peninsula is divided, and the commercial relations which connect the various sections of Italy with the transalpine nations. This last subject of inquiry is particularly interesting to us, from the close relations in trade which subsist between our own country and that which we are examining.

It is the more necessary to attempt doing justice to the character of the modern Italians, because no people in Europe are so little understood among us. If we hear the subject mentioned, it is for the purpose of contrasting modern degeneracy with ancient greatness. There is truth even in our mistake. The melancholy song

which the shepherds chant in the plains of Rome, tells us that the Eternal City is not what she was.* It is no less true, that the national character is sadly changed, changed as much by the long absence of freedom, as by the misgovernment of despotic rulers. Even if it be decreed that Italy shall not again rise from the dust, the guilt of her degradation will not on that account lie the less heavy on the heads of those who have been the instruments of Heaven's displeasure. But in our floating notions of Italian character, we grievously exaggerate the extent of its deterioration. Our ignorance can alone account for the inaccuracy of our judgment, but several causes unite in creating the wrong impression. One of these is our Protestantism, and our consequent want of experience in the practical effects which are produced by the form of religion in Italy. Another cause is our dislike of absolutism in government, which tempts us to overcharge all its evils. We are still farther misled by our own deeply marked character and customs, which spring partly from our political condition, partly from our climate, and partly from our Teutonic blood ; and which, unless strong correctives are administered, disqualify us for fully comprehending the temper and habits of a nation deprived of freedom, descended from a southern race, and inhabiting a Mediterranean country. According to the feeling which happens to rule at the moment, we charge the Italians in the mass, with superstition, ignorance, indolence, voluptuousness, revengefulness, or dishonesty ; or, if our knowledge be very small and our fancy very active, we combine all these features of different classes, times, and provinces, into one monstrous caricature. The special heads of our accusation, like the general charge, have a little truth amidst much error. This is not the place for details ; but it is impossible to refrain from protesting at the outset against all unjust prejudices. The upper ranks of the community, the few who can be said to belong to the middle order, the work-

* Roma ! Roma ! Roma !
Roma non è più come era prima !

ing-people in the towns, and the inhabitants of the rural districts, form four distinct classes, each of which has its own characteristics. Even the first three classes, though very far indeed from being stainless, are more like the same orders among ourselves than we are apt to believe ; and the peasantry, a very noble race, have been grossly slandered.

The study of the country itself is not much less valuable, and not at all less inviting, than that of its inhabitants. It abounds with spots which are consecrated by historical recollections, with buildings which are the models of architecture, with collections of statues which are the masterpieces of ancient art, and with paintings which are the finest works of modern genius. Its landscapes are at once lovely and peculiar ; its botany, its zoology, the phenomena of its climate, and its singular mineralogical structure, open a rich field for the speculations of the man of science ; and its natural productions possess both interest and importance for those who inquire into the history of the nation. A short description of its political divisions, the aspect of its scenery, and its most prominent physical features, will be useful here as an introduction to the details of the following chapters.

The names of the leading political divisions of Italy and its dependencies will furnish us with a vocabulary for describing the scenery and physical geography. The most common of the ancient systems of classification, and the divisions which at present prevail, will answer that purpose. The geography of the middle ages is both too complex and too fluctuating, to be of any use for such an end.

After the Romans had completed the conquest of the peninsula, the northern frontier of Italy wound along the southern brow of the Alps; and the differences between that line and the one at present adopted, are not of such consequence as to call for notice. The ancient boundary was terminated on the east by the river Arsia,

near the modern Fiume; and it thus included as Italian provinces Carnia and Istria. These now constitute part of the Austrian kingdom of Illyria; and the present Italian border on the east just shuts out the town of Aquileia. At the western extremity, the maritime Alps at first terminated the Roman frontier of Italy; but the country was afterwards considered as extending to the river Var, which now separates the Italian district of Nice from Provence. In all quarters except those which have been just named, Italy is surrounded by the sea, forming a long and irregular peninsula.

The ancient geographical classification usually adopted, takes as its basis the territories of the primitive nations, and may be considered as dividing Italy into the following thirteen provinces:—1. Venetia (with Carnia and Istria); 2. Cisalpine Gaul; 3. Liguria; 4. Etruria; 5. Umbria, with Picenum; 6. The region of the central Apennines, including the lands of the Sabini, Æqui, Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, and Marrucini; 7. The City of Rome; 8. Latium; 9. Campania; 10. Samnium, and the territory of the Frentani; 11. Apulia; 12. Lucania; 13. The territory of the Bruttii.

Italy is at present formed into eight sovereignties:—1. The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, of which the Emperor of Austria is king; 2. The states of the King of Sardinia (except Savoy, which is not Italian); 3. The Duchy of Parma; 4. The Duchy of Modena; 5. The Duchy of Lucca (soon to be suppressed); 6. The Grand-duchy of Tuscany; 7. The Papal States; 8. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, including the Neapolitan provinces and Sicily. Two other petty states are nominally independent; the Principality of Monaco, in the Sardinian county of Nice; and the Republic of San Marino, in the eastern division of the Papal States.

The first three of the ancient provinces include (with immaterial deviations) the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, the continental Italian possessions of the Sardinian monarchy, the duchies of Parma and Modena, and the north-eastern corner of the Papal States, ending at Rimini.

This region lies wholly between the Alps and the northern side of the Apennines, excepting that part of the Sardinian territories composed of the county of Nice and duchy of Genoa, which form a long narrow strip between the southern side of the mountains and the sea. In the dark ages, a small portion of this district, extending from Rimini northward to beyond Ravenna, and westward to the ridge of the Apennines, received the name of Romagna, from its occupation by the exarchs of the titular Roman empire. The remainder of the great valley between the Alps and Apennines, derived from its conquerors in the sixth century the name of Lombardy; and the term is generally used in this sense by writers on the history of the middle ages. But after the sovereignty of Piedmont had reached its utmost limit towards the east, and the Venetian provinces had been stopped in their growth westward, the intervening space, composing the duchy of Milan and the marquisate of Mantua, fell first into the hands of the Spaniards, and afterwards into those of the Austrians; and to this intermediate territory the name of Lombardy is now most usually confined. The Austrians, by their latest arrangements, extend the designation to the eastward, so as to take in Bergamo and Brescia, which were formerly Venetian provinces. The whole region described in this paragraph may be considered as Northern or Upper Italy.

A second historical region, called Middle Italy, may be regarded as stretching from the borders of Upper Italy to the southern slopes of the central Apennines. In this section, the greater part of the ancient Etruria is found under the name of the modern Tuscany; but the ancient province, as its frontier on the south-east and south was formed by the Tiber from its source, comprehends also the north-western portion of the Papal States. Umbria and Picenum, on the eastern side of the Apennines, are almost entirely in the Domains of the Church; a small portion only lying within the Neapolitan frontier. The land of the Sabines, included in the sixth ancient province, lies in the Papal States; and the other moun-

tain districts of the same province are in the Abruzzo Ultra within the kingdom of Naples. The name of Latium, originally confined to the plain around Rome, shut in between the Tiber, the nearest mountains, and the sea, spread farther and farther south till it touched Campania at, and afterwards beyond, the mouth of the river Liris or Garigliano. In this region, according to the geography of the middle ages, the Etrurian portion of the Papal State was called the Patrimony of St Peter; and the March of Ancona nearly corresponds to the ancient Picenum.

Lower Italy, the third region, lies wholly in the kingdom of Naples, in which, however, two small territories belonging to the Papal See are isolated. None of its ancient districts coincides exactly with any of the modern provinces; but Campania may be considered to be substantially represented by the Terra di Lavoro; Samnium and the lands of the Frentani by the Principato Ultra and the Abruzzo Citra; Apulia by the Capitanata, the Terra di Bari, and the Terra di Otranto; Lucania by the Principato Citra and the Basilicata; and Bruttium by the Two Calabrias. Apulia, under its name of Puglia, is important in the history of the middle ages.

Several islands are geographically connected with Italy. In the Adriatic are no large ones on the Italian shore. The only clusters are two; the Tremiti isles, off the Neapolitan coast; and the line of shoals at the head of the gulf, having the city of Venice for their centre, and belonging wholly to the Austrian province which bears the same name. The islands on the western side of the peninsula are the largest in the Mediterranean; and all of them belong to Italy, politically as well as physically; except Corsica, which has been subject to France for nearly a century; and Malta, which in 1800 was transferred from its famous order of knights to the British empire. Of the two main groups of these western Italian islands, the more northerly is composed of Corsica and Sardinia, with a few islets attached to the latter, and that cluster between Corsica and Tuscany, of

which Elba is the largest. The second group consists of Sicily, and the islands which surround it, the only considerable ones being the Lipari isles on the north, and on the south Pantellaria, with Malta and its dependent isle of Gozo. The whole of this group, except the two last mentioned, belongs to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as do Ischia, Capri, and the other islets about the mouth of the Bay of Naples.

When we first tread the soil of Italy, the loveliness of the landscape absorbs our whole attention. Association, indeed, does much to strengthen the spell which the scenery throws over us; and the force of the attraction is greatly increased by the southern sky, with its balmy repose, its magical colouring, and its harmonious combinations of light and shadow. All the features of the picture, however, are in themselves both novel and beautiful. The climate and its productions do not, it is true, unfold their full luxuriance till we reach Sicily; but to the native of northern Europe, the face of the country is new from the very foot of the Alps.

Italy is divided by nature into two very dissimilar regions. The first is Lombardy, or Upper Italy, bounded, as we have seen, on the north by the Alps, and on the south by the Apennines. This tract commences, on the north and west, among Alpine heights and glens, whose aspect is that of Switzerland. The mountains then subside into broad meadow-plains, watered by large rivers, and crossed in every field by rows of poplars supporting vines; while the olive-groves on the lower eminences both of the Alpine and Apennine chains, and the scattered cypresses and pines, impart the first characteristic images of the Italian landscape.

Southward of the ridge of the Apennines is the second region, the strictly peninsular portion of Italy. On crossing the mountains which bound it on the north, we immediately lose the broad plains and full rivers of Lombardy. The Apennine accompanies us to the extremity of the peninsula, dividing it lengthwise, nar-

rowing its flats, and forming deep hollows by the promontories which it every where sends out. The mountains, though in many districts lofty, are rounded in shape; and the undulating hills, which cluster about their sides, sink down into flat alluvial valleys, like the deserted beds of lakes. Woods of olive-trees, not unlike in character to the birch, cover the rising grounds with their gray foliage. Towns and villages on the plains, or oftener perched like castles on the hills, peer out from amidst vineyards, or clumps of the dark flat-topped pine, and the tall pillar-like cypress; and the most uncultivated and lonely of the vales are clothed with a picturesque and almost tropical prodigality of vegetation, in the wild trees and shrubs, the broad leafy masses of the glossy ilex, the rich forms and colours of the arbutus, and the graceful outline of the fragrant myrtle. This aspect of the landscape, which prevails in Middle Italy, suffers some changes as we advance farther south. The date-palm is now seen in sheltered nooks; in some districts the orange and lemon groves give odour to the air; and the aloe and cactus grow wild upon the rocks. These features are caught in glimpses, even on the northern side of the Apennines; they are more and more frequent as we proceed towards Lower Italy, in which they are not indeed the prevailing features, but in several quarters assume prominence in the scene; and in Sicily the picture unites oriental vegetation with that of the Italian valleys. The panorama of the low country, too, has every where a back ground in the mountains, among which, as we climb their sides, the wide woods of chestnut, intermingled with oak and beech, give way to the hardier species of the pine and other vigorous plants, and these to the green pastures which rise to the very summits of the Apennines.

The landscapes of Italy are excelled by those of northern Europe in several respects, and most of all in extent and grandeur of forest scenery; but every defect is redeemed by the lucid atmosphere, the characteristic luxuriance of the vegetation, the singular beauty of form

in hill and vale, and the brilliant pictures of rural and even woodland loveliness which we discover in so many spots.

Italian scenery receives another charm from its buildings, which in themselves are singularly picturesque and add much to the historical and poetical recollections they so often recall. Throughout the whole country are scattered the architectural monuments of the Romans, and in Lower Italy and Sicily many of the finest edifices of the Greeks; most of them now huge piles of ruins, with shrubs and weeds mantling their walls and twining round their broken columns. The perfection of this species of landscape is to be found in the tract which, solitary though within the walls of a modern city, is covered by the ruins of Ancient Rome. The middle ages have, in the rural districts, left scanty relics; a few dark towers, a very few castles on the hills, and in Middle Italy some of those villages, whose spacious mansions, falling into decay, attest the former wealth and the present poverty of the agricultural population. Over the whole peninsula, however, the churches, convents, and habitations which rise amidst the vineyards or olive-grounds, are striking features in the scene. From the mean dwellings of the Lombard peasants, or the few comfortable homesteads of the farmers, to the thickly crowded and neat houses of the Genoese and Tuscan valleys, and thence again to the ruinous and cheerless buildings of the southern provinces, all is characteristic. The most curious fact is the almost total want of what we should call cottages. Scarcely any where do we discover habitations which might not be classed under one of two heads: wretched huts, fortunately rare, built perhaps of reeds or logs; and tall houses bearing a resemblance to those in our small country towns, not unfrequently ruinous, and always inhabited by a population which we should expect to find in far humbler dwellings. These facts receive their explanation from the history of the people.

We meet, in most districts, with comparatively few villas of the opulent classes, those which we do find being commonly grouped together in particular spots. The

outline of their architecture, which we see successfully caught by many painters, is at once peculiar and beautiful. The long horizontal lines indicate the lingering influence of the ancient monuments; the flattened roofs, scarcely visible, and in Southern Italy quite level, contrast strongly with the buildings on the other side of the Alps; balconies and terraces open from the sides of the mansions; and above the whole rise one or more of those rectangular towers, which, solid in their lowest division and ending at top in an open story, are covered with a low roof, supported by four square pillars, or by an arcade. The monasteries, which crown so strikingly the brow of many eminences, have the general outline of the villas, but with less ornament, and a more gloomy aspect, derived from their fortress-like compactness, and their great extent of dead wall, pierced by a few diminutive windows. The interior of these edifices, forming ranges which enclose courts or cloisters, at once reminds us of the ancient domestic dwellings, and gives us the prototype of the aristocratic residences in the Italian towns; for no palazzo receives the name unless it has its inner court, entered by a gateway, and surrounded by the buildings which form the mansion. Architecture in the cities has all the features which distinguish it in the country; and there are many towns which contain edifices of all ages, from the primeval fortifications of the Pelasgians to the villa of the nineteenth century.

The groups which animate the landscapes of Italy are as picturesque in their aspect as they are interesting in a more philosophical light. Amidst many shades of difference, the people have in common the physiognomy and person of their ancestors and their southern climate; and the dark fiery eye and marked features of the Neapolitan fisherman, or the deep rich complexion, the full tall figure, and the noble classical profile of the Roman female of the western suburbs, are only more distinctive instances of a physical character, which has equally fine examples elsewhere. The costumes of the peasantry complete the effect which

their figures, faces, air, and gestures, produce on the minds of foreigners. It is true that all the rustic dresses are not graceful, and that some are decidedly ugly; for no one can admire either the boots of the females in Eastern Lombardy, or the felt-hats which disfigure the beautiful countenances of the Tuscan women. In many provinces, however, the attire of both sexes is remarkably picturesque; and the figures of the ecclesiastics are to us even more striking than those of the country people. The habit of the secular clergy, though distinguishing, is not by any means remarkable; but the monks and friars, with their shaven crowns and long cinctured robes, lead the fancy back to the most animating scenes of history and poetry. Modern Rome owes its peculiarity of aspect in no small degree to its multitude of monastic churchmen.

When we turn to the details of the physical geography, the mountains first attract our notice. The crescent of the Alps embraces the northern bounds in a curve of perhaps five hundred miles; and the deepest of the valleys are from 5000 to 8000 feet above the level of the ocean. Of the stupendous peaks which tower between these picturesque passes, the greater number stand, according to political divisions, beyond the frontier of Italy; the interest which belongs to them is not Italian; and we but rarely catch a glimpse of some of the loftiest summits closing in the head of the distant ravines.

At the eastern end of the great chain, on the confines of Austrian Germany, two successive groups, the Julian or Carnic, and the Tyrolese Alps, rear their highest peaks far from the Italian territories. But to the latter range may be assigned the mountains of the Valtelline (now within the Italian boundary), among the most elevated of which we have, on the line of division, the Oertler Spitz, and the Monte d' Oro. The same range sends down on the grand lake of Garda the Monte Baldo, which protects its Veronese or eastern bank; and in the Bergamasc territory, the principal offshoots are the Monte Adamello on the edge of the Val

Camonica, and the Monte Presolana in the Val Seriana. The next great group, the Rhætian Alps, which form nearly the whole of the frontier with Switzerland, have also huge promontories, whose peaks surround the Lakes of Como and Lugano, and the Lago Maggiore. Among these are Monte Legnone in the district of Como, and Monte Generoso, which stands between the Val di Maggia and the Lake of Lugano. Passing into Piedmont we find, just within the borders, the Monte Rosa, the second highest of the Alps, which may be regarded as associated in its structure with the Pennine Alp or Great St Bernard, with which the Swiss frontier ends. The Savoyard marches, after passing over the central summits of Mont Blanc, proceed along the Graian Alps, including the lofty Mont Iseran. The Cottian Alp commences with Mont Cenis, which completes the junction with Savoy; and the rest of the range, between Italy and France, includes the Monte Viso. The Maritime Alps, sweeping round till they dip into the sea in the Gulf of Genoa, are comparatively low, rising nowhere much higher than their fine pass of the Col di Tenda.

The Apennines, which are regarded as commencing about Savona, continue the chain of the Maritime Alps, and trend nearly west and east till they have almost crossed the peninsula, forming thus far the southern bank of the great valley of Upper Italy. Though more elevated than the range from which they directly spring, they are every where far lower than the great Alpine chain. In the portion of them just described, the highest point is the Cimone di Fanano, which stands almost insulated in the Duchy of Modena; and the Monte Radicoso, the highest pass between Bologna and Florence, is less than 3000 feet above the sea. Before reaching the Adriatic, the Apennine bends round, and from that point forms a ridge running south-east, through the middle of the peninsula, to its extremity. Nor does it terminate there; for a chain of mountains, which, according to the inferences of mineralogical science, forms a continuation of the range, rises in Sicily. Far north in Tuscany, a

branch is sent off towards the west, which, dipping into the sea, reappears successively in Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia. Several others project from both declivities of the central chain, the longest being one on the east side, which ends at the Cape of Leuca.

The principal heights of the Apennines, in most districts, stand between 3000 and 5000 feet above the sea; a few mountains of the range have an elevation considerably exceeding 5000 feet; but none of them reaches 10,000. Their highest cluster of peaks, save one, is in the island-chain which shoots off from Tuscany. Among these, Corsica has the Monte Rotondo, and the Monte d' Oro; and Sardinia, whose hills generally rise from 1000 to 3000 feet, has two much more elevated, the Monte Genargentu, and the Monte Limbarra. The central range, too, begins to rise higher opposite those islands. It presents, among the mountains of Urbino, the Monte Catria, near Cagli, and in Umbria the picturesque Norcian group, where the peak of the Leonessa, so conspicuous from the plain of Rome, is overtopped by the lofty Mount of the Sibyl. The range thence shoots up into its greatest heights, in the hilly region of the Abruzzo Ultra. The highest of the Abruzzese mountains is the huge Monte Corno, called also the Gran Sasso or Great Rock of Italy, which spreads over a wide district of upland glens, and has its finest summits near the town of Aquila. The most remarkable, and probably the loftiest, of the other members of the same group, are the conical Monte Velino, and the round shapeless mass of the Majella, crested with a knot of castle-like rocks. Both of these overhang the banks of the beautiful Fucine Lake, or Lake of Celano. The Apennines preserve an imposing height in the eastern quarter of the Neapolitan Terra di Lavoro, in which are the Monte Meta, and the Monte Miletto near Alife. The southern members of the chain are less lofty. Among the most elevated are, the Monte Sant' Angelo (the ancient Mount Garganus), an offset of the range, skirting the Gulf of Manfredonia; and Monte Sirmo, in the Basilicata. The medium height of the Calabrian branch

seems to be from 4000 to 5000 feet. From the Col di Tenda to the Capo dell' Armi, the total length of the Apennines is reckoned at 640 geographical miles.

The mountains of Sicily, if we except the volcanic Etna, are much lower than the peninsular Apennines, and nowhere rise to 4000 feet. The mountain of Dinamare, above Messina, is one of the highest; the Neptunian or Pelorian range, which runs southwest from Messina, reaches its greatest elevation in Monte Scuderi, northward from Taormina; in the same chain, and in the centre of the island, stands the rock of Castro Giovanni, which is the poetical Enna; in the Madonia range is the Monte Cuccio, near Palermo; and the loftiest summit of the island, except Etna, is a peak in the Calatabellotta range, near Castro Nuovo.

From the banks of the river Ombrone in Tuscany to the south side of the Bay of Naples an interrupted chain of extinct volcanoes runs side by side with the Apennines. The first lofty eminence among these is the Monte Amiata, at Radicofani on the Tuscan frontier, which is followed by the Monte Soriano near Viterbo, the highest of the ancient Ciminian hills. The next is Somma, the old crater of Vesuvius, opposite to which is Ischia, crested by Mount Epopeus or San Nicola. The volcanic zone reappears in the Lipari isles, in which the loftiest are Stromboli and Felicudi. It next crowns Sicily with the renowned Mount Etna; and we trace it once more in the islet of Pantellaria, half-way between Sicily and Africa.*

The Po is the only Italian river which can be compared with those of transalpine Europe. It rises in the Monte Viso, flows through Piedmont and the Lombardo-Venetian territories, and discharges itself into the Adriatic

* The following table, taken from the most approved authorities, gives the heights, calculated in English feet, to which the principal mountains of Italy rise from the sea. They are arranged in four groups, as they are described in the text:—1. Those mountains among the Alps which, as being either in Italy or closely bordering on it, may all, without much impropriety, be called Italian; 2. The Apennines, including their offshoots in Corsica and Sardinia;

by several mouths, after a slow course of nearly 300 geographical miles. In its whole progress through the Austrian territories, which extends to 136 of those miles, it is navigable for boats, excepting in unusually dry weather, when they are sometimes stopped at Cremona. The Po has for its basin the whole of the great valley between the Alps and Apennines. The tributary streams which descend to it from the latter are comparatively small: but the Trebbia, one of their number, has a classical reputation on account of Hannibal and its monastery of Bobbio; the Secchia is navigable for boats from Modena downwards; the Panaro presents the same convenience to the extent of thirty miles; and the Reno feeds a canal which communicates between Bologna and the Po. From the Alps this river receives several large accessions. In Piedmont its principal tributaries are, on the right, the Tanaro, on the left the Dora-Riparia, the

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3. The prolongation of the Apennines in Sicily; 4. The volcanic mountains in Italy and the islands.

I.—The Italian Alps.	
Mont Blanc,	15,744
Monte Rosa,	15,150
Mont Iseran,	13,275
The Oertler Spitz,	12,852
Monte Viso,	12,600
Mont Cenis,	11,460
Monte Adamello,	10,980
Monte d Oro,	10,545
Monte Legnone,	8,594
Monte Presolana,	8,198
Monte Baldo,	7,207
Monte Generoso,	6,282
Col di Tenda (Marit. Alps)	5,884

II.—The Apennines.	
The Gran Sasso d' Italia,	9,460
Monte Rotondo (Corsica),	9,061
Monte Velino,	8,943
Monte l' Oro (Corsica),	8,697
La Majella,	7,998
Monte della Sibilla,	7,495
Monte Meta,	7,271
Il Cimone di Fanano,	6,971
Monte Miletto,	6,742
Monte Sirmo,	5,992
Monte Catria,	5,582
Genargentu (Sardinia),	5,276
Monte Sant' Angelo,	4,720
Limbarra (Sardinia),	3,686
Monte Radicoso Pass,	2,895

III.—The Apennines prolonged in Sicily.	
The Calatabellotta Peak,	3,690
Monte Cuccio,	3,329
Monte Scuderi,	3,190
Monte di Dinamare,	3,112
Castro Giovanni,	2,880

IV.—The Volcanic Mountains.	
Mount Etna (Sicily),	10,874
Monte Soriano,	4,183
La Somma di Vesuvio,	3,979
Monte Amiata,	3,054
Felicudi (Isle),	3,041
Monte San Nicola (Ischia),	2,605
Pantellaria (Isle),	2,213
Stromboli (Isle),	2,171

Dora-Baltea, and the Sesia. In Austrian Lombardy the largest rivers which disgorge themselves into it issue from the Lakes. The Lago Maggiore, forty-eight miles long, from four to seven miles broad, and generally more than twenty feet deep, receives the waters of the Ticino and twenty-six other streams, all of which, after passing through the lake, are discharged into the Po. The Lake of Como, thirty-seven miles in its greatest length, and varying in breadth from one mile to four, is traversed by the Adda, which thence flows across the plain to join the same river. The Oglio passes through the Lake of Iseo, and the classical Mincio issues from the fine Lake of Garda, thirty-seven miles long and from four to fourteen miles broad. The Adige, which ranks next to the Po, emerges from the Tyrolese defiles a little above Verona, and flows a very short way through the plain. The Bacchiglione, Brenta, and others of smaller dimensions, are geographically unimportant.

The rivers of Middle and Lower Italy are more important in history than in geography or commerce. They flow from no large lakes, for of these the only considerable one, the Lake of Celano, which is reckoned thirty-five miles in circuit, has no visible outlet. On the side of the Adriatic, the largest streams are the Metauro and the Tronto in the Papal States, and the Neapolitan Pescara, Ofanto, and Bradano. On the other side, the Magra and the Serchio, the Neapolitan Garigliano, Volturno, and Sele, are all historical names; but except the Arno and the Tiber none require to be more than mentioned. These rise within ten miles of each other, in the mountainous district of Tuscany called the Casentino. The former, receiving several beautiful streams, and winding extensively in the upper part of its course, flows in all about 150 geographical miles. Its lower valley (Val d'Arno Inferiore) one of the most lovely scenes in Italy, has Florence near its head, and the river is passable for boats from that city to the Mediterranean, a distance of nearly sixty miles. The course of the Tiber is about 190 geographical miles, and its direction is

southerly, till, after it has received several considerable streams, the Nera being the latest and largest, the Apennines near Tivoli force it westward across the plain. A little before entering Rome it receives the Teverone, the ancient Anio ; and from the Roman wharfs downwards it is navigable for small coasting barks. Within the city, beside the Tomb of Augustus, its breadth is 197 English feet, its depth twenty-one, its medium surface twenty-one feet above the level of the sea, and the distance from its mouth fifteen geographical miles.

In none of the Italian islands are the rivers geographically important. In Sicily, the chief ones are the Giarretta and the Fiume Salso ; in Sardinia, the Tyrso and the Flumendosa.

The mountains which have been enumerated yield few valuable minerals. The rivers are nearly useless for commercial navigation, owing to the want of tides in the seas into which they flow. Having hardly any deep indentations, the coast affords few facilities for the formation of harbours ; and the position of the peninsula in the Mediterranean, which, as long as eastern commerce was conducted overland to the Levant, favoured its communication with the great mart of Asiatic merchandise, has had the very opposite effect since the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Italy is naturally an agricultural country, with a fertility of soil and mildness of climate which bestow a plentiful increase even on careless cultivation, and would perhaps, under better laws and better management, make it, as Sicily once was, the granary of Europe. The geographical situation of this fine peninsula, open so extensively to the sea, exposes it to attack on almost every point ; and its seeming ramparts the Alps, which have never stopped the march of any brave invader, are now traversed by military roads in all directions. Its climate, except in a few spots, is healthy ; and, if we are told that it is a cause of degeneracy or effeminacy, we may answer that it is unchanged,

since the period when its air was breathed in Upper Italy by the Insubrian Gauls, in Middle Italy by the Romans, in Lower Italy by the fierce Bruttians, and in Sicily by the Syracusan Greeks who humbled Athens.

In the last few sentences are stated some of the facts which have most strongly influenced the fate of Italy, and will continue to aid in determining her place among the nations. The details of her physical structure and aspect, as well as of her history, political, moral, and intellectual, will open themselves to us as we proceed; while the adventures, the characters, and the monuments, which are to pass in review before us, will constantly suggest interesting speculations. The thought which first arises in the mind, is that which will also the most frequently recur, in innumerable shapes and combinations. Italy stands unexampled in Europe, —indeed unexampled upon earth. She alone of all the ancient nations, after slumbering through the darkness which for centuries covered the world, awoke stronger than before. The changes of character which distinguish the modern people from the ancient, as well as the numerous points of identity, present the most curious subjects of inquiry. A yet more momentous problem respects their final destiny. The Italians were fallen in the dark ages, and they rose again. They are fallen now: is there yet a second redemption for them?

PART I.

ANCIENT ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

The Political History of Italy till the Fall of the Roman Republic.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL A. U. 722, OR B. C. 32.

FIRST AGE (ending A. U. 244) :—The Primitive Italian Tribes—The Pelasgi—The Etruscans—The Latins—The Kings of Rome—The Greeks in Italy and Sicily. SECOND AGE (A. U. 244—A. U. 468) :—Rome a Republic—Its External History—Conquests—The Greek Colonies—*The Constitutional History of Rome*—The Early Constitution—Classification of the Citizens—The Hereditary Nobility—Their Vassals—The Free Commoners—The Senate—The Two Conventions—Constitutional Peculiarities—Commencement of the Plebeian Struggle—Institution of the Tribunes—Rise of a Third Convention—Prosecution of the Struggle—The Twelve Tables—The Licinian Laws—The Publilian Laws—The Democracy perfected. THIRD AGE (A. U. 468—A. U. 722) :—The Character of the Times—The New Aristocracy—The Populace—The External History—The Roman Dominions in Magna Græcia—In Sicily—Abroad—The Punic Wars—*The Constitutional History*—Three Stages :—1. (A. U. 468—A. U. 620)—Changes on the Senate—On the Conventions—2. (A. U. 620—A. U. 671)—The Gracchi—The Italian Allies—The Ballot—The Army and Marius—3. (A. U. 671—A. U. 722)—Sylla's Reign and Policy—The last Republican Times—Pompey, Cæsar, Cicero, Cato—Cæsar King—His Assassination—Octavius Emperor—*The Republican Administration and Finance*—The Italian Provinces—The Municipalities—The State Expenditure—The Revenues—Description of the Taxes—The Administration of the Revenues.

THE historical outline which is here presented will chiefly invite the reader's attention to two sections in

the annals of the Romans; namely, the growth of their sovereignty over Italy, and the principles and progress of their political constitution. The chronicles of their wars abound beyond all similar records in vigorous characters and heroic adventures; but the incidents are familiar to every one, and neither our purpose nor our limits allow us to dwell long on spectacles of bloodshed. The constitution of the republic deserves for many reasons to be more closely examined. It is the department in which the revolutions of that extraordinary people possess the highest value as lessons, and in which also our popular works on their history offer least information.

This chapter and the next will delineate the skeleton of the political institutions in the commonwealth and the empire; and subsequent portions of the volume will attempt to exhibit the most interesting of those other features which, when grouped together, complete in the imagination a picture of the ancient Roman world. The vicissitudes and remains of literature and the fine arts will successively come into view; those scenes will be described which have become places of pilgrimage for the classical student; and our inquiry into the state of Heathen Italy will not close till we have surveyed the most characteristic details of private life and manners, with one or two branches of the national statistics.

The times preceding the foundation of the empire class themselves chronologically in three divisions. The first is that legendary age which we have called the First Secondary Period. Of the other two, comprehending together the five republican centuries of the Ancient Illustrious Period, the earlier ends with the complete development of the democracy, while the later embraces the decline and overthrow of freedom.

FIRST AGE.

ITALY TILL THE FORMATION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: ENDING A. U. 244, OR B.C. 510.*

The Primitive Inhabitants of Italy.†—Amidst the traditional obscurity which covers the remotest times of Italian history, the principal fact which may be regarded as certain is this; that, besides the race or races which originally occupied the peninsula, the greater portion of it was at one period, before the foundation of Rome, possessed by that singular tribe which, commonly known by the name of Pelasgi, united with the Hellenes to form the ancient Greek nation. We discover the Pelasgi through the disguise of poetical fable, in the legends both of Grecian and Roman writers. We trace them again in those massive architectural remains which are still scattered over the country, from the northern extremities of Tuscany to the southern slopes of the central Apennines. Lastly, we recognise their influence and fix them down as having inhabited Latium, when we perceive the Hellenic element which is so copiously infused into the Latin language, and which, it is demonstrable, must have formed part of it in its earliest stages.

The older Italian nations, on whom the Pelasgians intruded, and by whom they appear to have been in turn subdued, could not be very briefly classified, nor even enumerated. It is enough to allude to the Ligurians, with those other northern tribes whom the Gauls soon invaded; and to those rude hordes of the south who were speedily hemmed in by the Greek colonies. The

* By the common reckoning (after Varro), which is here adopted, the foundation of Rome is placed in the year before Christ 753.

† The most authoritative writers of the present age, on the early antiquities of Italy, are Niebuhr, in his History of Rome; Müller, in his work on the Etruscans; and Micali, in his Italia avanti il Dominio de' Romani, 4 vols, 1810, or in his Antichi Popoli d'Italia, 3 vols, 1832, which is an improved and enlarged edition of the former. Among the older works, the most interesting is Lanzi's Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, 1789. The view in the text is in substance Niebuhr's.

inhabitants of the intermediate space require more minute notice. The Umbrians are said to have been the aborigines of Italy, and to have once possessed a very wide territory. The Sabines, a mountain-tribe, were also believed to be extremely ancient,—perhaps Umbrians,—and were certainly the nucleus of several greater nations. Their settlements extended westward as far as Rome, and eastward over Picenum: to the south they seem to have sent out the Hernicians, Marsians, Pelignians, and other tribes of the central Apennines; and still farther south was the powerful people of the Samnites, the greatest of their colonies. These southern swarms of the Sabines partially dispossessed the Opicians or Oscans, a race whose name disappeared early, but to whose blood belonged the Auruncians, and perhaps the Æquans and Volscians. The origin of these various races is a question to be solved on the narrowest grounds; but certainly none of them were Pelasgians. These last, however, evidently intermixed with them at different points over nearly the whole peninsula, and were gradually lost in the union.

These Italian tribes do not emerge from obscurity till they successively appear as contending with Rome, and defeated by her. In the period immediately preceding their fall, they were distinguished for little except that military courage and talent, of which all gave proofs so deadly. In the infancy of the great city, however, the Etruscans, a separate race, whose origin is still quite uncertain, were in a situation remarkably different. They were a powerful, though declining nation; they were active by sea in commerce and in piracy; they were wealthy, and had used their riches, and their intercourse with the Greek colonies and other foreign states, for the acquisition of a singular proficiency in architecture, painting, and sculpture. At one time, their rule, and perhaps their population, extended from the Alps to Latium or Campania, and across the whole breadth of Italy; but at the commencement of their struggle against Rome, their dominion was nearly restricted to Etruria

Proper. This province was not then united into one state; but its different cantons had formed themselves into a federal league, the cohesion of which had become very slight. Their confederation is said to have always consisted of twelve towns, with the district attached to each; and their governments were oligarchical, with but few exceptions, such as Veii, and perhaps Clusium, which were ruled by kings. The mass of the people are stated to have been serfs in the hands of the nobility (the Lucumones); and if it be true that this race invaded the Pelasgians, and reduced them to bondage, the fact would account for the Greek character, which pervades much even of the earliest Etruscan works of art, and also for the Pelasgic style of their antique fortresses.* The priesthood of Etruria composed no separate class, but its functions were exclusively in the hands of the nobles, who enveloped their gloomy superstition in a thick veil of ritual observances, and skilfully used these rites and their pretences to the gift of divination, to form the groundwork of an immense power in the state. The Roman chiefs borrowed from the Etruscans both their religious ceremonies and their political application of them; and the nation at large owed to this singular people the first steps of their civilisation.

The Latins, and the Origin of Rome.—The Romans traced their immediate descent to the Latins, a powerful tribe, different from any of those now enumerated; but their national pride and Greek learning have wrapt up the history of these ancestors in a cloud of fable. The most probable account of their origin sets out from the fact, that the Pelasgians at one time occupied the plains of Latium, either as first settlers, or by subduing earlier inhabitants. They were attacked by a race whom the Sabines had dislodged from the mountains, and whom, on a comparison of the non-Grecian part of the Latin language with extant inscriptions, we are warranted in pronouncing to have been Oscans. The Pelasgians and

* See a paper on Etruscan Antiquities, by Mr Millingen: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. 1834.

that people coalesced, and formed the Latin league and the older Latin tongue. Virgil's fable, and some historical facts, indicate that they were at one time divided into two confederations, the southern having its seat at Ardea, the northern at Lavinium or Laurentum. The former disappeared early, probably on being conquered by the Volscians. The latter continued to exist; but Alba became its principal town, and attained a power which is attested by its public works, if it be true (and it is more than probable) that the extraordinary tunnel of the Alban Lake, the merit of which is claimed by the Romans, was really executed before they conquered Alba. The Latin league is said to have always consisted of thirty towns, each of which had a senate, and an elective chief magistrate, called a dictator.

From the conflicting accounts of the foundation of Rome by Romulus we may collect at least a plausible theory of its origin. The first and most important body of its inhabitants, who, it is agreed, had their seat on the Palatine Hill, consisted of Latins belonging to the mixed race of Oscans and Pelasgians. The spot on which they fixed themselves had clearly been occupied before the events with which tradition associates the name of the founder. If the poetical fables have any historical basis, the older town or village of the Palatine must have been built by the Pelasgians before they merged in the Latin race. At the formation of the town of Romulus, the Sabines, as it is with much probability conjectured, had a settlement covering the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills; and the Roman legend intimates that this town and that on the Palatine were formed into one, and their citizens into one community, in which the Latin language and influence continued to rule. The original constitution of the diminutive state thus composed, is represented to have been an elective and limited monarchy,* which was forcibly abolished on the misconduct

* Livii Histor. lib. i. cap. 49. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Roman. lib. ii. cap. 14; lib. iv. cap. 80.

of its seventh king.* The history of these chiefs, and even the names and existence of some of them, are matter of great doubt, while the period assigned to their dynasty is manifestly erroneous. There are strong indications also, that before the expulsion of the kings the dominion of Rome extended much farther than the received account, reaching northward into Etruria and southward as far as Terracina. The new republic lost for a time the greater part of this territory, and therefore the historians concealed the fact that it had ever been acquired. Before the revolution the military spirit of the Romans was formed and the outline of their political constitution developed.

The Greek Colonies in Italy and Sicily.—While Rome was gradually becoming the head of a powerful state in Central Italy, the southern coasts received a succession of foreign settlers, possessing an amount of wealth, of commercial activity, of skill in the arts, and of literary and philosophical cultivation, which even the Etruscans had never approached, and to which all the other Italians were still total strangers. These colonists were the founders of the Greek republican cities, lining the portion of the mainland which was called from them Magna Græcia, and occupying many points on the coasts of Sicily. Almost all of these were established before the Roman revolution, but no considerable intercourse subsisted between them and Rome till they submitted to her armies late in the fifth century of the city. It is necessary, however, to remark the existence of these polished communities of foreigners at a time when the natives were so utterly uncultivated. Tradition carried back the origin of Cumæ, a colony of Ionic Greeks, to the year B. C. 1030; and this town, besides giving birth to Neapolis, founded Zancle, afterwards called Messana, the earliest Grecian settlement in Sicily. The aristocratic govern-

* A. U. 1. Romulus.
37. Numa Pompilius.
80. Tullus Hostilius.
114. Ancus Martius.
A. U. 137. Tarquinius Priscus.
176. Servius Tullius.
220. Tarquinius Superbus; expelled in 244.

ment of Cumæ was temporarily subverted by Aristodemus, who appears in the history of the new Roman republic. Rhegium was another Ionic commonwealth. The Doric Tarentum, planted about the year B. C. 707, became at length the wealthiest of the seaports belonging to the Italiot Greeks. Croton, and the powerful and luxurious colony of Sybaris, were Achæan. Locri, for which Zaleucus legislated about 660 B. C., was another eminent community; and settlers from these towns were spread over the whole southern coast of Italy. The territory of the cities in no instance extended far into the interior of the country; and their ruin was prepared by the frequent attacks of the natives, and by the disunion of the several republics among themselves.

Down to the time of the Roman revolution, the Greek colonies in Sicily were rapidly increasing in strength and numbers. The Doric Syracuse, the most powerful of them, planted by Corinthians in the year B. C. 757, was still republican. Gela, also Doric, and dating from B. C. 713, had sent out emigrants to Agrigentum; and, besides several smaller cities of the same race, there already existed Naxos, Catana, Taurominium, and other flourishing Ionic settlements. The Carthaginians, whose capital lay within a day's sail of Sicily, had already made establishments on its nearest shores, and were about to enter on that attempt to subjugate the whole island which at last embroiled them with the Romans. The native inhabitants, who evidently belonged to some one or more of the tribes composing the oldest Italian population, appear for a time in the history of the country as useful auxiliaries to their Greek, Punic, or Roman masters, but were finally lost among the foreign settlers. Sardinia, in which the Greeks at an early epoch had planted two colonies, Caralis and Olbia, was now entirely subject to Carthage; and this state had also made itself master of one or two havens in Corsica, founded by the Etruscans.

SECOND AGE.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC TILL THE COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEMOCRACY

A. U. 244—468, OR B. C. 510—286.

The External History of Rome.—During this age the foreign relations of the new republican state underwent some remarkable vicissitudes, the earlier details of which have not reached us without much obscurity and evident distortion. Besides acquiring, before the revolution, the absolute dominion of a considerable territory, the Romans had contrived not only to obtain a place in the federative league of the Latin towns, but to arrogate the presidency of the confederation. On this prerogative they speedily grounded extravagant claims of superiority. Their encroachments, and the intrigues of their banished princes, immediately involved the republic in wars both with the Latins and with several other neighbouring nations. The earliest of the great military names of the time was that of Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was succeeded in his celebrity by Marcus Furius Camillus. In the Etruscan war, headed by Porsena, prince of Clusium, to which belong the stories of Cocles and Mucius Scævola, with so many others of the heroic Roman legends, it is quite clear that the city was actually taken, and the commonwealth compelled to surrender a large portion of her territory. Her next war with the same tribes, in which Camillus was the hero and Veii the principal enemy, was more successful. It ended by bringing back the ceded districts with large additions, while it nearly annihilated the Etruscan league. A few years later Rome was on the brink of ruin. Colonies of Gauls had previously crossed the Alps and established themselves in the north of Italy; and now either these settlers alone, or more probably a new horde aided by them, invaded Etruria and Latium, and (A. U. 365, B. C. 389) took and burned Rome. The Romans purchased, by a heavy ransom, the departure of those barbarians, who probably retired upon Cisalpine Gaul.

Rome, with that elastic strength which so finely distinguishes her republican history, quickly recovered from the shock, and pursued vigorously her plan, already matured, for the entire subjugation of Italy. Before the end of her fourth century, in spite of internal discord and foreign enemies, she had again reduced the greater part of Latium to a precarious subjection, and had engaged in wars with more distant tribes, including the Volscians, Æquans, and Auruncans.

The first half of her fifth century was chiefly occupied by the heroic Samnite war, carried on resolutely, and with complete success, against the bravest of her Italian rivals. She was soon able to strengthen her dominion over almost all the provinces from Samnium to the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul, and only waited for a pretence to attack the Greek colonies and Carthage.

The half century just named abounds more than any other period of the republican history in deeds of military prowess, and there are no Roman heroes whose characters we can admire so unhesitatingly as those who figure in this series of wars. If we examine deeply into the conduct of the most prominent persons who flourished in the preceding age, we shall detect in them bad citizens and bad men, oppressors of the people, and unscrupulous avengers of attacks on their own privileged order. This, which was the character of Cincinnatus, was also, with the addition of avarice and dishonesty, that of the vaunted Camillus. But in the Samnite period, as we shall see, the two orders of the state had been just amalgamated into one:—the fierce quarrels between the noble and the commoner were transmuted into a generous emulation, and the patriotic enthusiasm burnt for a time with a flame so warm and radiant as had never yet shone on Rome, and never afterwards visited her. The devotion to country indeed was in such excess, that self-love and the domestic affections were equally weak against its pressure. The patrician Manlius, a descendant of the unfortunate Marcus, first became celebrated for his filial piety, and then for his single combat

with the Gaul on the Salarian Bridge over the Anio, where he gained the chain which gave him his name of Torquatus. A few years later, a similar conflict with another Gaul in the Pontine Flats, earned the surname of Corvus for the excellent Marcus Valerius. In the same generation, during a war against the Latins, Torquatus, then consul, performed near Capua that terrible act of rigour which is so famous, by executing his own valiant son for a breach of discipline; and a few days afterwards his plebeian colleague Decius Mus, who had on a previous occasion chivalrously saved a consular army in Campania, crowned a worthy life by devoting himself to death for the state in conformity with a national superstition. The self-sacrifice of Decius, inspiring courage and revenge in his soldiers, procured the victory for Rome; and on another such emergency, in a battle with the Gauls and Samnites in Etruria, his son purchased a second victory at a similar price.

The Greek Colonies.—The Greek cities in Italy and Sicily, like the mother-country, point to this period as the zenith of their glory and the commencement of their decay. In Greece this era embraces the most splendid portion of the republican history, extending from the Persian war to Philip of Macedon; and it closes with the formation and partition (A. U. 430) of Alexander's empire. To this age belong, in art, Phidias and his successors, and in philosophy, literature, and oratory, that illustrious array of names which begins with Herodotus and ends with Aristotle. The progress of the Greco-Italians kept pace with that of their parent-land, with which they were in constant communication. About the time of the Roman revolution Sybaris was destroyed, and, a few years after the death of Virginia, Thurii was founded on its ruins. Tarentum, the most flourishing city of Magna Græcia, was at the summit of its prosperity from the expulsion of Tarquin till the sack of Rome by the Gauls, and Archytas was latterly the president of its republic. Cumæ was subdued by the native Campanians, and remained under their dominion; and the

Syracusans, repeatedly attacking Màgna Græcia, took Croton more than once, and destroyed Rhegium, which, however, was rebuilt.

Sicily underwent various vicissitudes. The Carthaginians were actively striving to convert their few colonies on the western coast into a sovereignty over the whole island; and they came into direct communication with Rome by commercial treaties, the first of which, if genuine, is dated A. U. 246. The history of the smaller Greek towns in that island is dependent on the annals of Agrigentum and Syracuse.* The first of these was for some time subject to princes, among whom was Theron, at whose court Pindar appeared, and it then obtained a democratical constitution, which subsisted little more than half a century. During this short period the splendour of the city, and its trade with Africa and Gaul, were at their height. It was subdued by Syracuse, and being afterwards (A. U. 349) destroyed by the Carthaginians, never recovered its former greatness. Syracuse, in like manner, presents in this age its highest glory and its decline. Its history contains first, from A. U. 270 to 287, the reigns of the good Gelo, of Hiero, Pindar's patron, and of Thrasybulus. The expulsion of the last of these rulers was followed by a democracy of sixty-one years, raising the state to the greatest power it ever attained. During this free period it subdued Agrigentum, and repulsed the famous Athenian invasion under Nicias and Alcibiades. The wars with Carthage followed, and, aided by the dangerous increase of the popular ascendency, enabled the elder Dionysius to possess himself first of the army and then of the throne, which he held thirty-eight years, when his life was brought to a close by poison. In his constant wars against the Carthaginians his success varied, but, at the time of his death, that people possessed by treaty the whole western half of the island from the river Halycus. This struggle prevented him from fully

* For the political institutions of these two cities, see Müller's Dorians, book iii. chap. 9 (English Translation, 2 vols, 1830).

executing his favourite project,—the conquest of Southern Italy. His weak son, the younger Dionysius, was first dispossessed by the noble Dion, Plato's friend, and, after the murder of that patriot, was ejected a second time by the Corinthians under the stern Timoleon. A short period of republicanism ensued all over Sicily, ending when the sovereignty of Syracuse was usurped by Agathocles, who, for twenty-eight years, prosecuted unsuccessfully the old designs of expelling the African invaders and reducing Magna Græcia.

The Constitutional History of Rome.—This age is the most important of any in the history of the political constitution of the Roman commonwealth. Its commencement exhibits an hereditary nobility, possessing the executive powers of the government to the entire exclusion of the commons, and practically exercising an undue influence over the legislature, the functions of which were by the theory of the constitution vested in the nation at large. At the end of this period the distinctions between the two orders are completely destroyed, the legislative power of the people is quite uncontrolled, and their influence on the executive begins to be excessive and consequently dangerous.

The framework of the Roman constitution was constructed before the establishment of the republic. It recognised two classes of citizens,—the Plebeians or commonalty, and the Patricians, an hereditary nobility, whose privileges belonged to none but persons of pure patrician blood. Many of the first class, however, formed in truth a third order, that of the Clients, or hereditary vassals of the patricians ; a body of men who, while their political rights were not affected by their vassalship, were individually protected by their respective patrons even against the laws of the state, while, in return, they were legally and hereditarily bound to yield service to their protectors. The notion that every plebeian was individually attached as a client to some patrician is quite erroneous, and originates in a misapprehension of the historian Dionysius, caused by the altered position of things in the last

days of the republic, when a voluntary and personal clientship, quite different from the hereditary relation of the older vassals, had become very general. In the early ages of the commonwealth, a large proportion of the plebeians were not clients; and it is this free body of commoners that we find asserting the claims of their order against the nobility, while the clients invariably supported the prerogatives of their lords.

Under the kings the Senate was formed, and consisted of three hundred patricians, vacancies in the number being filled up by the prince. The National Assemblies of the people, embracing every individual possessing the political franchise, whether patrician, free plebeian, or client, were of two kinds. The older form, the introduction of which is ascribed to Romulus, was the convention called the Comitia Curiata. The whole body of the citizens was divided into thirty *curiæ;* every citizen possessed one vote in his own curia, and every curia possessed one vote in the convention. The second form was that said to have been established by King Servius Tullius, called the Comitia Centuriata, which, even before the origin of the republic, had nearly superseded the other. For the purposes of this new assembly the citizens were divided into *centuries* or hundreds, in which each person possessed one vote, while each century had a vote in the general meeting. But the centuries were so arranged as to throw the power of the assembly altogether into the hands of the richer men. The whole body of the citizens was arranged in six Classes. The first of these was composed of such persons as possessed the largest amount of taxable property; the qualification diminished in each succeeding class; and the sixth, which, perhaps, was not strictly termed a class, consisted of those who were not rated in the rolls as possessing any taxable property at all, and neither paid taxes on that ground nor rendered military service in the legions. The whole number of centuries may be stated at about 193. The sixth class, probably a very numerous one, contained only one century, and consequently had only one vote;

while the first class, which cannot originally have contained many individuals, was divided into at least ninety-eight centuries,—eighty being rated for military service in the infantry, and eighteen, composing the equestrian order or knights (among whom the patricians were probably included), for service in the cavalry. Besides this, the votes of the first class were always taken first. If its centuries were unanimous, the question before the convention was of course already decided: if their votes did not form a majority, the second class was applied to, and the voting scarcely ever went much lower. The amount of taxation and of military service levied on each of the first five classes was proportional to its valuation in the roll, with this exception, that military service was not exacted from the clients.*

* The account here given is substantially that which is commonly received. But an entirely new theory of the original constitution of Rome has been propounded by a great historian of the present age. Every student of ancient history is Niebuhr's debtor, and is bound thankfully and admiringly to acknowledge the obligation, however difficult it may be to acquiesce in his leading hypothesis.

Niebuhr's interesting theory is briefly the following:—The original *population* of Rome consisted exclusively of *patricians* and their *clients*; but the *populus*, or body of citizens possessing the political franchise, comprehended only the patricians. The patricians exercised the franchise in the convention of the *curiæ*. Gradually, however, there arose a *third* class,—the *plebeians*,—who, though not clients, did not possess the political franchise. This new body may have been composed of various sorts of men,—of clients emancipated by the extinction of the families of their patrons; of the children of marriages between patricians and non-patricians; of the inhabitants of conquered towns; and of individuals immigrating. The constitution of Servius Tullius communicated the franchise to the *plebeians* and the *clients*, allowing them, along with the patricians, to exercise it in the convention of the *centuries*.—The chief points in which this theory touches the constitutional vicissitudes of the republic will be noticed as they occur. For a minute exposition of Niebuhr's system see his History of Rome, vol. i. pp. 301-331, 398-424 (Hare and Thirlwall's Translation, edition 1831), vol. ii. p. 129-164 (Translation, edit. 1832), and both volumes *passim*. Part of it is illustrated ably in Maldon's uncompleted History of Rome in the Library of Useful Knowledge. Arnold's learned History of Rome (vol. i. To the taking of Rome by the Gauls, 1838), adopts the outline of the theory.

In the following sketch much use has also been made of the

In passing to the political changes of the republic, certain particulars may be noted, in which the Roman constitution was opposed to modern opinions, and which are therefore liable to be misunderstood.

1. Their system of government, like every other in the ancient world, wanted altogether the modern principle of a representation of the people. Every individual possessing the civic franchise, was held entitled to exercise it personally by his vote in all proceedings of the national conventions. 2. The legislative, executive, and judicial functions, were not separated with sufficient nicety, and this defect produced much of the internal discord that prevailed. The legislative power, theoretically vested in the people, the sovereign of the commonwealth, was long practically intruded on by the senate; the executive was loosely shared between the latter body and the officers of state; and the judicial power was long in still greater confusion, at least in criminal matters. The military character of the republic produced a similar anomaly in the union of civil and military authority in the person of the consul, and afterwards of some of the lower political functionaries. 3. The initiative or right of proposing measures was jealously confined. There were frequent contests between the senate and the national assemblies on this head; but it was an admitted rule that, in all legislative meetings of the conventions, the initiative

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"Early Roman History" of Wachsmuth, an opponent of Niebuhr (Aeltere Geschichte des Römischen Staates, Halle, 1819), and of the excellent treatise "On the Roman National Assemblies" by Schulze, a convert to Niebuhr's doctrine (Von den Volksversammlungen der Römer, Gotha, 1815). Of older foreign works, Beaufort's "République Romaine" is exceedingly useful; and much matter may be gleaned from several of the treatises in the Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum of Grævius. In English, Hooke and Ferguson must of course be consulted; but our earliest attempt at a systematic theory of the Roman constitution is Brodie's very original History of the Roman Government (1810).

Of the numerous ancient sources of information on the subject, by far the most valuable are Livy's Roman Histories, and the Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

belonged to the president alone, who also, in various ways, exercised over their deliberations a control which to modern observers seems extremely unconstitutional. 4. The most important and dignified places in the priesthood, instead of being held by men specially set apart for performing the offices of religion, were considered as steps in civil rank, and filled by persons taking an active share in political business. 5. During the whole period of the republic, every sitting of the senate, and of all the national assemblies (except, as we shall see, the new convention of the tribes), had to be constituted by a preliminary religious ceremony, namely, that of the auspices, which consisted in an inquiry by divination, whether the gods were favourable to the purpose of the meeting. The people continued to be superstitious long after they had ceased to be truly pious; and they scarcely ever refused to adjourn when an evil omen was announced. The laic priesthood, who conducted these ceremonies, could not only prevent the members from entering on business, but even, after their deliberations were over, could declare their proceedings null. In this way they possessed a most dangerous power, and the exclusive right to the sacerdotal colleges was the very last privilege which the aristocracy gave up. 6. The right of imposing taxes on the community, which has been the usual cause of revolutions in modern Europe, was never claimed by the Roman people, who, even in their most democratic times, contentedly left that all-important prerogative in the hands of the senate; sometimes, indeed, murmuring against particular burdens, but never questioning the general law.

These preliminary remarks may save some confusion, and not a little repetition, in the narrative of constitutional changes on which we now enter.

After the arrangements of the new commonwealth were completed, we find the Patrician Senate and the Conventions of the Curiæ and Centuries still subsisting. The first magistracy of the state was intrusted to two Consuls, annually elected in the convention of the centuries, who,

while they were officially the presidents of the senate and of the national assemblies, possessed with reference to the people powers very extensive and ill defined, but checked by their personal responsibility on the termination of their year in office. The convention of the curiæ seldom appears; and there are obvious reasons why that of the centuries should be considered, as it was, the genuine council of the nation.

The convention of the centuries had no power to originate any law, but only to approve or reject resolutions prepared by the senate, and moved by the consuls; and neither these measures although so approved, nor the elections of the consuls, were valid until a subsequent decree of the senate had confirmed them.* The senators, at this time, also possessed, besides the right of imposing taxes, the privileges of managing the treasury, of ordering out the citizens as soldiery of the state, of disposing of the conquered lands and treasure, and even of declaring war and concluding peace; and they also had the supreme superintendence of religion, and of the laws and their administration. Farther, in all ages of the republic, they claimed and enforced a right of temporarily suspending the constitution on great emergencies, concerning the urgency of which they alone were to judge. This prerogative was at first exercised, usually in times of popular discontent, by the nomination of a Dictator, who was entitled to hold office for six months, and possessed, in reference to the purposes specially declared in his appointment, an unlimited power, against which, even in matters of life and death, no appeal lay to the people. At a later period, the senate exercised the same dangerous authority, in a less offensive but really more absolute form, by addressing to the consuls for the time a general man-

* According to Niebuhr, the resolutions were prepared by the senate; but the approval of them, after they had passed the centuries, was by the whole body of patricians in the curiæ. The discussion mainly hinges on the word "Patres," which the older historians translate "Senators," and Niebuhr "Patricians."

date,* which as it were put the state under martial law. Both these extreme exertions of prerogative were practised often enough to make them strong as precedents; but, down to the very end of the republic, they were never used without having their legality fiercely questioned.†

The power thus vested in the senate truly belonged to the patrician order; because the senate was originally composed entirely of that class, and in the whole period now under review, no admixture of plebeians took place which at all lessened its aristocratic character or feeling.‡ In the executive, as exercised by the officers of state, the commoners had no share whatever: they were, in fact, ineligible to all public offices. From all functions of the priesthood they were also strictly excluded; for the pedigree of the sacrificing priest was required to be as spotless as the colour of the victim. In the convention of the centuries, likewise, the patricians long exercised great influence by their strength of votes, founded on their wealth and that of their clients, though this power gradually diminished. The mass of the plebeians were long kept poor by the early laws of the state, which, adopting a policy admirably calculated to form a vigorous army, confined its soldier-citizens to war and agriculture, openly discouraging all trade and manufactures. This rule, however, was not held applicable to the clients. Hence the few commercial speculations which became necessary, especially the transactions in money, fell

* The well-known formula, "Ut consules operam darent, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet."

† The latest case was the execution of Catiline's accomplices by Cicero.

‡ The addition of the "Conscripti" to the senate by the first consuls is a knotty point; but if these were plebeians, it is clear that the revolutionary precedent was not followed to any farther extent than this; that, previously to the Licinian law, a few plebeians may have been enrolled to fill up blanks, the persons chosen being partisans of the aristocracy. The only recorded exceptions to the unanimity of the old senate in opposing the popular demands, were men of pure patrician blood.

into their hands; and many of their lords, whose political privileges had largely augmented their fortunes, lent sums at usurious interest, commonly sheltering themselves under the names of their vassals.

The early commonalty of Rome* must not be confounded with the paupers and hirelings who formed the populace of Cicero's times. All the inhabitants of the early conquered towns necessarily entered the class of the plebeians, though many of them, the nobles of those states, could boast a lineage older and more honourable than that of the proudest Roman. Nor were the plebeians exclusively indigent; for, though their order embraced most of the poor, it contained also a good many belonging to the wealthier classes. The history of their struggle of two hundred years for equality of political rights, is, notwithstanding some excesses, a distinguished example of spirit guided by forbearance, and presents a humiliating contrast to the conduct of the same order in the later times of the commonwealth.

This contest soon commenced. The earliest aristocratic leaders of the republic, with Junius Brutus at their head, acted with impartiality and moderation: but in a very few years, acts of personal severity or injustice by patricians against plebeians, roused an indomitable spirit of resistance. The commons at first claimed no reform of the constitution. They merely demanded redress of specific grievances affecting individuals, and of two in particular. The first was the inhumanity exercised under the sanction of the existing insolvency law, which was extremely harsh, allowing the creditor not only to demand that his debtor should judicially pledge his person in security of the debt, but also to apprehend him on failure, to treat him like a slave, and to imprison and scourge him.† The wars of the state both before and after the revolution, constantly compelled the people

* Justissima et modestissima plebs.—*Cicero.*

† On the bankrupt laws of the republic, see Niebuhr (Transl.), vol. i pp. 601, &c. and Arnold, vol. i. chap. 8.

to leave their farms to serve in the army, which received no pay till the siege of Veii; and they were thus laid under the necessity of borrowing, for the support of their families, money which they could seldom repay. The free plebeians alone were exposed to these evils, the clients being protected both from the military service which produced the debt, and, through their patrons, from the law in favour of the creditor; and, as there is no evidence that the severity of the provision was abused by any of the wealthier commoners, the odium rested solely on the richer nobles and their vassals. Instances of cruelty occurred almost immediately after the change in the form of government; and the wars aggravated the evil, till, a large proportion of the plebeians being involved in debt, many of them had been repeatedly imprisoned and grossly maltreated. The lands acquired by conquest, being the confiscated portions of the territory of captured towns, which became the Domain of the State, might have been applied to alleviate the general distress: but the fact that they were not so applied constituted the second of the plebeian grievances. The occupation of them was retained exclusively by the patricians; for when they were not given over to colonists, nor sold for the benefit of the treasury, nor reserved, as parts of them were, for public pasturages, the senate allowed individuals to take possession of them. The right of property in the land so held was never legally transferred to the occupants; it remained with the state, which was entitled at a moment's warning to eject them; but as this power was exercised very seldom, or more probably never, many persons were allowed to transmit to their heirs the possession of immense tracts of the public demesne. The plebeians, who constituted the strength of the armies which conquered these very lands, were strictly excluded, perhaps not in the earlier times, but certainly after the expulsion of the kings, from all such acquisitions. Nor did the abuse stop here: the state was defrauded as well as the commons. In the original cession of these estates, the patrician possessors were burdened with the annual

payment to the treasury of a fixed proportion of the produce. This tithe or rent was first loosely exacted, and then ceased to be levied at all.*

In some of the earliest wars of the new republic, the exasperated plebeians refused to give military service, while the senate, making occasional and evasive concessions, repeatedly quelled them by appointing a dictator. The discontent ended in the famous retreat of the commons to the Sacred Mount (A. U. 261), the result of which was remarkable, and highly honourable to the men who headed their oppressed fellow-citizens. The circumstance of the revolters being all plebeians suggested the idea of providing for the protection of that class in future, by the interposition of authorized delegates. Temporary relief was obtained for the insolvent debtors, though without any alteration of the bankrupt law: and the privileged order agreed to the permanent institution of Tribunes of the Commons, who were to be plebeians, elected annually in the convention of the curiæ, and confirmed by the senate.† The mode of election was most unsatisfactory; but the principle was gained; the patricians likewise were for some time afraid to use their advantage, and when they at length made an attempt, the plebeians extorted an alteration in the form of the appointment.

By the original conception of the office, the Tribunes appear to have had only the right of interposing for the immediate protection of the persons of commoners against palpable violations of the law: but their duties were speedily extended so as to comprehend the defence

* Niebuhr, vol ii. p. 129-154. According to Niebuhr's theory, the plebeians had in strict law no right either to claim individually possession of these lands, or to object to the non-payment of the tithe on them. The lands belonged to the "populus," *i. e.* to the patricians; and the profits of them went to the "populus," *i. e.* not into the treasury of the state, but into the common chest of the patrician body. The moral iniquity of the system is the same in either view.

† Niebuhr maintains that they were elected by the centuries, and confirmed by the curiæ: vol. i. p. 607.

of their whole body against illegal acts. They had the right of putting, by their veto, a temporary stop to the proceedings, either of any magistrate, or of any council of the state. Their functions were shielded by a strict personal inviolability: an attack on a tribune, or molestation offered to him in the discharge of his duty, was treason to the state, involving *ipso facto* outlawry. They likewise soon claimed and exercised the right of introducing proposals for new laws, even in those national meetings of which they were not presidents.*

Within three years after the institution of the tribunate, the plebeians (A. U. 263), by an act of injustice and revenge, gained a prerogative which in time altered the whole constitution of Rome. Coriolanus, a patrician, insulted the commons in his place in the senate. The tribunes, whose office entitled them to be present in that assembly, though not as yet to vote or speak, witnessed the affront, and summoned the offender to answer before a court of which we have not yet made mention,—the Comitia Tributa, or Convention of the *Tribes*. Questions of some difficulty arise regarding it. It always was an assembly whose members were arranged without any regard to property, and were divided neither into curiæ nor centuries, but into tribes, a local division like parishes. Every person had a vote in his tribe, and every tribe a vote in the convention, the order in which the tribes should vote being determined by lot. The tribunes of the commons cited the meeting, and were officially its presidents: and (a most

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* Niebuhr's idea of the tribunate is this:—That the division into tribes by Servius Tullius (which has not yet been mentioned in the text), was a division of the plebeians only, not of the whole people; that, as indeed older writers have pointed out, each plebeian tribe had its elective president, called a tribune; and that the Tribuni Plebis were just these ancient functionaries, who now for the first time received the right of appearance as officers of the general body politic. He also maintains, that the Comitia Tributa, which we shall immediately meet with, were nothing more than the old ordinary meetings of these plebeian tribes.—Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 398-424, and p. 601-609.

important feature) it did not require the religious sanction of the patrician priests to constitute it.

On these points there is no dispute: the difficulty occurs on the question who were the constituent members.* It is clear, that on this occasion, and for a considerable time afterwards, the assemblies bearing that name were composed exclusively of plebeians, and probably of those only who were not clients. The truth seems to be, that the step taken by the tribunes was in itself not only illegal, but grossly unfair. They knew that whether they attempted the impeachment in the curiæ or in the centuries, the auspices as well as the prerogative of the patrician presidents would be turned against them, and, in the centuries, the influence of wealth. It is possible that they may already have begun to assemble their constituents, of course without any consecration or formal constitution of the meeting: and they now proposed to try the proud senator before a court composed in this way, to which they gave a show of legality, by naming and dividing it according to the tribes, the only recognised classification of the people distinct from those of the other assemblies. It was indeed somewhat startling, that the plaintiffs should propose to sit as judges in their own cause: and perhaps the tribunes may have pretended that their new convention was to comprehend all classes of the citizens. But they were perfectly certain that it would in fact be composed of plebeians only, and probably of none who were not free. The patricians durst not sit in the new assembly, or acknowledge its legality as a national institution, unless they chose to repudiate the principles on which their political supremacy was founded. If they had consented to attend its meetings, they would thus have acknowledged the right of the tribunes to impeach, which was an unprecedented and dangerous innovation; they would have recognised the right of plebeians, as yet excluded from every office of state, to summon and preside

* Compare Wachsmuth, p. 300-309, and Beaufort, tome i. p. 188 (Ed. 1766), with Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 307, *et seq.*

in national assemblies; and they would have admitted the legality of such meetings, though not constituted by those religious rites which were so powerful an engine of their own political monopoly. They resolved, therefore, to sacrifice one man rather than the privileges of their order, or the convenient insolvency laws: and, carefully abstaining from taking part in the proceedings, they allowed the plebeians to convene their irregular assembly, and pass what invalid resolutions or sentence they pleased.

The commons, however, held their own act a precedent, and followed it. A law of the consul Spurius Cassius (A. U. 267), for remedying the abuses in the occupation of the public lands, was eluded, and its mover was murdered by his fellow-nobles. At last (A. U. 281), the tribune Genucius impeached the last year's consuls before the convention of the tribes for not enforcing the law of Spurius. This double danger called for prompt action; and the tribune was found dead in his bed on the morning in which the trial should have come on.*

The very next year, the tribune Volero moved, in the convention of the centuries, a law for amending the election of the Tribunitial College, by transferring it to the convention of the tribes. The patricians violently resisted the attempt, the consequences of which they clearly saw. It was evaded till the year after (A. U. 283), when he again moved the law, and the senate, finding opposition hopeless, consented to it in terrified silence.†

Mention is made of another very important statute, also passed in Volero's second tribuneship, declaring that the convention of the tribes had a right to deliberate on all matters touching the common weal. The terms of the enactment, as reported, do not amount to an assertion of legislative powers, but only to a recognition of the right

* Livy says (lib. ii. cap. 54) that the senators openly boasted of the assassination, and that it was reckoned among them an honour to be suspected of having had a share in it.

† Patres ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam—Lex silentio perfertur. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 56, 57.

to meet and pass resolutions, analogous to our British privilege of petitioning parliament;* but the measure indicates to us, and ought to have given warning to the patricians, that the plebeians now looked far beyond the redress of personal wrongs. Indeed these two laws of Volero placed the commons in a most advantageous position. The peculiar form in which their meetings were held was authoritatively recognised as legal, and they enjoyed a free election of their bench of presidents. It is possible that from this time the patricians, with the view of weakening the strength of their adversaries, may have allowed their clients to attend in the electoral meetings of the tribes, though they did not as yet acknowledge the legality of their deliberative proceedings.

But they were soon compelled to recognise these also. In the year of the city 298, the tribune Icilius carried in the tribes a resolution for assigning the ground of the Aventine Hill to the poor plebeians. This vote was laid before the senate, who refused to entertain it even as a petition, maintaining that the second law of Volero, though it allowed the commons to deliberate on questions of public policy, did not compel the higher council to take any notice of their resolutions. After a bitter struggle, the senators consented to take the vote into consideration, and allowed the tribunes to speak in their house in support of it. Both concessions were held to be precedents.

The next material step was produced by a motion which had already been introduced by the tribune Terentillus Arsa, for the appointment of a commission to draw up a set of rules for determining the powers of the consuls. Violent disputes ensued, and the proposal was altered into that of a general revision of the whole law, both public and private. For this purpose, the Ten Commissioners forming the First Decemvirate, were selected (A. U. 302) exclusively from the patrician order: and as they had not completed the task within

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 217. Wachsmuth, p. 331-342. Dionys. Halic. lib. ix. cap. 43.

their year, a new Commission was elected, half patrician half plebeian. The fruit of the decemvirates was the famous Code of the Twelve Tables, of whose contents, so far as they related to the public law, we know almost nothing. It is even a disputed point whether any of their constitutional enactments survived the forcible dissolution of the second decemvirate. The whole history of these commissions, indeed, is extremely perplexing: but by an anomaly to which there are several parallels in ancient times, they received, besides full power to legislate, an appointment as sole magistrates of the republic. The second body of commissioners, headed by Appius Claudius, forcibly retained office after their year had expired: the citizen-soldiers took their favourite revenge, by first refusing to enlist, and then allowing themselves to be beaten: the murder of Siccius Dentatus, their leader, was followed by the tragical story of Virginia: the plebeians for the second time left the city; and the consular government was restored.

The patrician Valerius, surnamed Poplicola, one of the consuls for the next year (A. U. 305), besides formally recognising the old right of appeal to the people against criminal sentences pronounced by the officers of state, carried likewise in a meeting of the centuries a measure as to the proceedings of the tribes, extending the effect of the law of 283 and the precedent of 298. This new statute declared resolutions of the plebeians in the tribes to be of equal force with those of the whole community in the centuries; that is, it declared that the Convention of the Tribes was a branch of the legislature, and that its resolutions acquired the force of law on being approved by the senate.* The patricians reluctantly agreed to this new act; and the convention of the tribes, besides the distinct recognition of its constitutional status, now possessed, through its presidents, the tribunes, the important privilege of the initiative.

* Ut, quod tributim plebs jussisset, populum teneret. Livii Historiar. lib. iii. cap. 55. There is much reason to believe, that till 416 this law was frequently evaded.

The plebeians, as a body, had now hardly any farther political right to demand; but personally they continued excluded from all the functions of the executive, because the patricians still alleged that they lay under a religious disqualification for these offices, from their not possessing the Sacerdotal character, which was essential to the discharge of certain duties incumbent on the principal members of the government. The commons were already resolved to extort from the nobles the privilege of being eligible to office; but it cost them a struggle of nearly ninety years. The tribunes began the attack (A. U. 308), by a motion in the senate, for a law to have one of the Consuls elected from each order; and by another, which they had better have let alone, for giving full legal effect to marriages between patricians and plebeians. The aristocracy dreaded the proposal as to the consulship, and a compromise was effected. The office, meantime, was superseded by an annual board called Consular Military Tribunes, eligible from either order, and possessing the usual powers of the consuls, but not their rank or personal privileges. The concession seems to have been understood on both sides as only temporary: and it is likely that the senate retained the power of determining annually, whether the magistrates for the ensuing year should be consuls or consular tribunes; while the lists show, that till the abolition of the consular tribunate, this form of administration was only chosen on occasions of popular excitement, and that during forty years after its institution the commons were only once able to procure a place in the board for one of their own order. The influence of the nobility on the elections was strengthened by a novel expedient, apparently adopted in the hope of neutralizing the plebeian efforts; namely, the appointment of patrician Censors, two officers elected by the centuries for a fixed period, to superintend the national revenues and works, to assess the public burdens, and to prepare the rolls both for the payment of taxes and for admission into the senate and centuries. It is suspected, on plausible grounds, that the judicial powers of

the consuls were also for a time transferred to the censors.*

From this point we trace no efficient attempt of the commons to gain the magistracies, till 378, when the tribune Licinius Stolo introduced his three celebrated measures, which he was not able to carry till 387. By his first law the Consulate was permanently re-established as the highest office of the state; both orders of citizens were declared eligible; and, with a very necessary precaution, it was provided, that one of the Consuls must always be a Plebeian. The nobles were only able to get the judicial functions of these magistrates finally separated from the office, and committed to the prætors, who at first were patricians.†

The other two statutes of Licinius related to the Bankruptcy Law and the Public Domain. During the period which has been last considered, the grievances of the poorer plebeians, in regard to both of these matters, were repeatedly brought forward, and excited several dangerous commotions. In the course of the fourth century of Rome, at least two eminent citizens expiated with their lives the crime of defending the poor against oppression. Spurius Mælius, a powerful commoner, was the first victim; and the second was the patrician Marcus Manlius, who, after having saved the Capitol from the Gauls, was judicially murdered, on a pretence of his aiming at the sovereignty, but truly for having protested for years against the insolvency laws and their abuse. The historians of the republic, and especially Livy, the strenuous partisan of the aristocracy, would have us to believe, that both suffered deservedly; and their fame has been overshadowed by that of their celebrated destroyers. For the dictator, by whose command Spurius was slain, was the venerable Cincinnatus; and Manlius was killed, under a decree of the senate, "ne respublica," by the consular tribunes for the year, at the head of whom

* Niebuhr, vol. ii.: On the Censorship and Consular Tribunes.
† Livii Histor. lib. vi. cap. 35-42; lib. vii. cap. 1.

was Camillus. We cannot now determine the motives either of Spurius or Manlius; but nothing can be more certain than that the acts for which they died were patriotic and just.

Licinius was more fortunate. For the first of the two evils which he endeavoured to remove, it was indeed difficult to find a remedy; since a mere prospective alteration of the insolvency law would not have satisfied the wishes of the complainers, while a statute to extinguish all existing debts would have involved an injustice palpable even to the Romans, in spite of their characteristic hatred of usury. His temporary law, by which all interest already paid to creditors was imputed towards extinction of the principal, on condition that the balance should be paid up by equal instalments in three years, probably answered its immediate purpose. It however left the sore to fester in the heart of the state, notwithstanding the successive statutes to regulate the currency; and the distress of the lower classes generated a reckless spirit which powerfully contributed to the deterioration of the national character.

The Licinian law as to the Public Domain, was one of those which from their subject were called Agrarian, a term which has sometimes been misunderstood.* None of the measures brought forward at Rome under this name contemplated any interference with private property, or its restriction to any fixed amount. They referred solely to the Public Domain, and to no portions even of that except such as were occupied by individuals on sufferance, in the manner which has been already explained. As new districts were successively

* See Heyne, Leges Agrariæ pestiferæ et execrabiles (Opuscula Academica, tom. iv. p. 350-373), a discourse written in 1793 against the agrarian propositions brought forward in the French republic. The track of inquiry which Heyne indicated was prosecuted by Heeren in 1794, in his Geschichte der Revolution der Gracchen (Kleine Historische Schriften, vol. i. 1803). The difficulties which still encumbered the subject have been cleared up by Niebuhr, in his Sections (vol. ii.) on the Public Lands, the Early Assignments, and the Law of Spurius.

conquered, and the possession of them by the patricians and their vassal tenantry grew inveterate, the abuse became more glaring, and, at the same time, more difficult of redress. The law of Licinius, aided by the accompanying reforms, appears for some time to have greatly ameliorated the condition of the poor. It had reference both to the public lands which might thereafter be acquired by the state, and to those which it had already conquered. In regard to all these, it enacted, that no Roman should be allowed to possess on the title of sufferance more than 500 jugera, or about 280 English acres; that on those tracts which were reserved as common pastures, no one should graze more than a fixed number of cattle; that, both for the arable ground and the pasturages, the customary tithes and other dues should be strictly levied; and that the revenue thus arising to the exchequer should be publicly farmed out. Of the territory which the state had already acquired, every citizen who occupied any portion of it by sufferance, was allowed to retain 500 jugera, but all he possessed beyond that extent was to be taken from him; and the land so seized was divided among the poorer class, in allotments of seven jugera, or about four acres, to each.* We know that the plebeians, or some of them, thenceforth contrived to obtain large portions of the domain, on the same footing on which such estates were formerly monopolized by the patricians: for Licinius himself was in a few years convicted of violating his own law, by possessing more than the prescribed amount.

From the institution of the tribunate to the time of this inconsistent reformer, we can trace no constitutional change unfavourable to the commons, except the dismemberment of the consular functions, and certain alterations on the college of the plebeian tribunes. This board, the original number of which is uncertain, was, probably about the year 297, increased to ten members. At

* Niebuhr, vol. iii. (untranslated), Romische Geschichte; Dritter Theil; Berlin, 1832; p. 13-23.

first a majority decided on all steps to be taken, and neither the minority nor single members could act in contravention of the resolutions so fixed. There was, however, introduced, between the years 339 and 360,* a dangerous rule, which subsisted till the dissolution of the republic; namely, that any one tribune might, by his veto, stop the proceedings of the magistrates, the senate, or national conventions, and even of his own colleagues.

But the hereditary aristocracy was already disarmed by the enactment of the Licinian laws: and the subsequent changes of the constitution proceeded with rapidity. In 401, the commoners established their eligibility to the omnipotent office of Dictator. In 406, they gained admission to the Censorship, and, ten years afterwards, the exclusive right to one of the two places at that board. In 420 the Prætorship followed; and as the Quæstorship had been already gained, they were now eligible to all places of civil trust and honour.

In 416, the plebeian dictator Publilius Philo, whose office enabled him to overcome the resistance of the patricians, carried in the centuries, and forced the senate to confirm, two remarkable laws. The First of these either simply renewed the Valerian law of 305, constituting the Convention of the Tribes a legislative body, or, at most, it fortified the principle of that measure by some new arrangement. But the Second Publilian law amounted to a radical change in the constitution. It annihilated at a blow the whole control which the senate had held over the Legislative functions of the Convention of the Centuries, leaving to it nothing but its veto on the electoral votes of that assembly. Instead of preparing the legislative resolutions, and at pleasure allowing or forbidding them to be proposed to the people, the senate was by the new statute compelled, whenever such a resolution was regularly laid before it, to pronounce, as matter of course, an edict permitting it to be moved in the convention; and instead of the old rule, which gave the senate a second

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 435.

veto on all such measures after the centuries had approved of them, it was enacted that the legislative acts of the convention should have the force of law without being sent back at all to the upper house.*

The first fruit of this perilous innovation was a good measure, the Pætelian law of 420, which abolished imprisonment and bondage for debt.†

In 454, the amalgamation of the two orders was completed by the removal of the religious disqualifications of the plebeians, who were now admitted into the two great Colleges of the Priesthood, that of the Pontiffs, the supreme ecclesiastical council, and that of the Augurs, in whose hands lay the auspices. These boards were at this stage equally divided between the two classes of citizens, but their members were self-elected.‡ The plebeians, of course, entered the priestly colleges in profound ignorance of the mysteries of the craft; but they seem to have been apt pupils in political slight-of-hand, for, in the same generation, the commoner Titus Coruncanius was the greatest authority in the laws ecclesiastical as well as civil.§

An attempt of a tribune in the same year was soon after (though the precise date is unknown) confirmed by the law of Mænius, which extended to Elections in the Centuries the provision of the second Publilian law as to the legislative functions of that body.|| Over it the senate had now no control.

The Publilian and Mænian laws furnished the tribunes with a hint which was speedily taken; and indeed, for

* Liv. lib. viii. cap. 12. Compare Niebuhr on the Publilian Laws (vol. iii. p. 167-173), and Schulze, p. 95, with Wachsmuth, p. 441.

† Eo anno plebi Romanæ velut aliud initium libertatis factum est, quod necti desierunt. Livii Histor. lib. viii. cap. 28.

‡ Dionys. Halic. lib. ii. cap. 73. Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. iii. ep. 10. The Pontifex Maximus, however, was always nominated by the people. By the Domitian Law of 650, the people received, but were not able permanently to retain, the right of nominating to all the priestly offices. Cic. De Lege Agrariâ, orat. ii. cap. 7. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. 12. Suetonius in Nerone, cap. 2.

§ Niebuhr, vol. iii. p. 409-413: On the Ogulnian Law.

|| Ciceronis Brutus, cap. 14.

the preservation of consistency and order, it was absolutely necessary that, if these laws were to subsist, their principle should be extended to the Convention of the Tribes. Accordingly, in 468, the Hortensian Law completed irretrievably the defeat of the patricians. The senate had never possessed the initiative in the proceedings of the Conventions of the Tribes; but it exercised the veto. The Hortensian law abolished this negative, not, perhaps, on all resolutions of the tribes, but certainly on all questions except those of administration.*

From this point of the history, the Convention of the Tribes must be considered as in every view a national council, embracing all orders of the state. It continues to be styled an assembly of the plebeians, and its resolutions acts of that body (plebiscita); but the *plebs*, or commonalty, which in the subsequent times of the republic the tribes represented, was not the old plebs: it was, in fact, composed simply of the poorer classes, many of whom might be,—and some, as we know, were,—men of pure patrician extraction; and the new aristocracy, who kept at a distance from their meetings, and affected to despise them, were themselves, with very few exceptions, genuine plebeians.

* Plinii Histor. Natur. lib. xvi. cap. 10. Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. xv. cap. 27. Livii, epit. lib. xi. Valer. Maxim. lib. vi. cap. i. sect. 9. The terms of the three successive laws as to the Convention of the Tribes (the Valerian, Publilian, and Hortensian), have reached us imperfectly: and we are left to interpret their real meaning and extent by the practice which followed. Niebuhr's theory of them, which depends on his great hypothesis, is the following:—The Valerian law enacted, that resolutions of the tribes should be law, on receiving the approval of the *curiæ*. The Publilian law set aside the approval of the curiæ, and substituted that of the *senate*, to be given either beforehand by their sending down a resolution, or after a vote of the tribes, by their adoption of it. The Hortensian law declared the resolutions of the tribes to be effectual, without their either originating in the senate, or being subsequently approved by it:—"A dangerous absoluteness, against which good sense struggled very long:" Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 365.—"In the latter centuries of the republic, enactments touching the constitution were entirely independent of the senate: on the other hand, no decree of the plebeians affecting the administration could be promulgated without a previous ordinance of the senate." Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 221.

THIRD AGE.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC FROM ITS COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT TILL ITS FALL:

A. U. 468—722, OR B. C. 286—32.

The Character of the Times.—Although this is not the place which has been allotted for our systematic inquiry into the state of society and manners in Ancient Italy, the most prominent moral and statistical features of the period now to be considered must not, even at this stage, be passed over in silence.

The military success of Rome, in which it is so difficult not to rejoice, was based partly on her political institutions, partly on the personal character and rural education of her burgher-soldiery. Trade was as yet confined to the vassals and to strangers; literary cultivation belonged only to a few, and to these in no high degree; and till the conquest of Southern Italy was accomplished, simplicity, or rather rudeness, marked the life and manners of the whole community. Greece and her colonies communicated to the higher classes of the Romans their literature, their philosophical scepticism, their love of the arts, and their luxury. Riches flowed in torrents into the public treasury. Individuals, too, became wealthy, some indeed enormously so, by commerce and money-lending, by easy grants of the national lands, by profitable leases of the revenues, and by monopolizing and abusing those numerous and lucrative offices required both at home and abroad, for the administration of a powerful republic. These private treasures lay in the hands of comparatively few, but patricians and plebeians soon shared in them alike; and in no long time, as the old patrician families died out, the wealth and power of the republic belonged almost exclusively to the plebeians, and chiefly to the equestrian order or knights; a subdivision of that class whose status in the latter times of the commonwealth, though perhaps not entirely in the earlier, depended on a property qualification,

and who now contrived to engross trade and the farming of the revenue. The aristocracy of birth speedily became insignificant: a new plebeian aristocracy arose, founding its nobility on the possession of public offices and seats in the senate, either by the individual or by his ancestors. These new senatorial, consular, and equestrian families, soon taught the poorer classes, that lands, money, and office, can make men quite as tyrannical as old pedigrees can.

At the fall of liberty, there existed only fifty houses of patrician blood, and not only do these furnish few of the characters who were great in the later history of the republic, but the few illustrious names of that order belong almost exclusively to families which had been obscure in the earlier times. We lose sight of the patrician families of the Manlii, the Claudii, the Fabii, and the Furii. The patrician race of the Æmilii, long unknown to fame, gives us at length Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Macedon, and his son the younger Scipio; and the Cornelian house, the most distinguished of the newer patrician families, gave birth in succession to the elder Scipio and to the dictator Sylla. But in the century immediately preceding the empire, the great men who could boast of old nobility became fewer and fewer. The Julian house itself, the patrician nursery of the Cæsars, was propped by the plebeian Aurelii, to whom belonged the mother of Julius Cæsar, and by the plebeian Octavii, one of whom was the father of Augustus, the first emperor. Pompey also belonged to a plebeian race, no member of which was consul till 612; the Pisos were descended from the Calpurnii, the Metelli from the Cæcilii, Brutus and Cassius from the Junii and Cassii; all of these being plebeian families.* Some of the greatest Roman statesmen, and almost all the eminent men of letters, were not only of the same order, but foreigners, being natives of the other Italian districts. Among the foreign statesmen, it is enough to name Cato, Marius, and Cicero.

* Augustinus de Familiis Romanorum, and Fulvius Ursinus de Familiis Romanis Nobilioribus: (both treatises in Grævii Thesaur. Antiquitat. Roman. tom. vii.)

The moral character of the lower classes degenerated as rapidly as that of the upper ranks, while their penury and indolence exposed them to temptations not felt by the richer citizens. Early in the seventh century of Rome, the mass of the commonalty in the city were sunk into extreme poverty and vice; evils which spread during the next hundred years like a pestilence. The whole agricultural population of Italy suffered very severely; and the starving labourers, flocking to the capital, coalesced with its degraded populace. For half a century before the fall of the republic, an immense proportion of the people consisted of paupers, receiving the bounty of the state, and of hirelings who subsisted by selling their votes and their blood to the highest bidder.

The External History of Rome.—The history of the Italiot and Sicilian Greeks now merges in that of Rome. Magna Græcia was harassed by the Syracusans, and by the native tribes, who, first led against it by the elder Dionysius, did not forget the lesson. These barbarians reduced several districts of the coast, destroying Pæstum, Thurii, Metapontum, and other towns. Some of the Greeks incautiously entreated the aid of the Romans; and this caused the war with Pyrrhus the Epirote, who had in like manner been invited by the Sicilians. In A. U. 481 the Romans took Tarentum, and made Magna Græcia one of their provinces.

The neighbourhood of the Carthaginians in Sicily produced, in the year 490, the First Punic War, which lasted twenty-three years; and its scene was chiefly in that island, on the coasts of which the Romans trained their new navy. By the final treaty the Africans evacuated all their Sicilian possessions, and paid the costs of the war. The second Hiero had by this time become sovereign of Syracuse, and his submission to Rome secured for his country, during his life, a peace which was truly little different from bondage.

The contest with Carthage was followed by a comparatively pacific interval of nearly twenty-four years, during

which the Romans forcibly seized Corsica and Sardinia, entered into friendly communication with Greece on subduing the Illyrian pirates, and extended their Italian garrisons to the north of the Po.

In 536, Hannibal's celebrated passage over the Alps transferred to the very heart of his enemy's territories the seat of the Second Punic War, which raged for seventeen years, in Italy, in Spain, in Africa, and in Sicily. This war was a game in which the world was the stake; and nobly did the gamesters play it. There cannot be a more glorious proof of the political and moral strength of Rome during this period, than the unconquerable courage with which her citizens bore up against the most fearful calamities. Their defeats on the Ticinus and Trebia, were followed by that of the Thrasymene Lake and the fatal field of Cannæ. Nearly all Italy revolted; and the Romans stood enclosed like hunted beasts of prey. But the bark of their destiny was steered by two strong spirits, the angel of freedom and the demon of ambition; and it rode proudly through the storm. The instrument of their deliverance was Scipio Africanus the elder; and Rome and Scipio found in Hannibal a worthy foe. By the defeat near Zama in Africa Carthage was ruined. She surrendered her fleet, that is, her commerce and her warlike strength. Italy, from Rhegium to the Alps, trembled and submitted; and Sicily, already conquered by Marcellus, who took Syracuse in 541, was made formally a Roman province.

Rome, without a year's delay, commenced that system of interposition in foreign affairs, that mock protection of liberty against tyranny, and of small states against great ones, which gave her a pretence for invasions, and enabled her, before the loss of her own freedom, to form her mighty empire, embracing the fairest portion of Europe, some parts of Asia, and the nearest coast of Africa. Greece was first attacked, and, by a humiliating dissimulation of its conquerors, was proclaimed a free state. Syria was next subdued, Macedonia reduced, and declared a republic, and Carthage destroyed (A. U. 608), after that

desperate struggle of three years, which was called the Third Punic War, and which gave the surname of Africanus to Cicero's favourite hero, the younger Scipio. In the same year Corinth was taken, and both Greece and Macedonia were declared provinces of Rome. A large part of Spain was reduced; conquests in Asia Minor were begun about the same time; and, after the Social War (ending A. U. 665), successfully prosecuted by the Italians in order to extort the franchise, the Roman dominions abroad were extended by Marius, Sylla, and the soldiers of the last days of liberty.

The Constitutional History of Rome.—The people were now, in fact, as in theory, the sovereigns of the state; and in their conventions, the meanest citizen acted, and felt that he acted, as a legislator, a judge, and a prince. This erroneous notion as to the nature of the political franchise, while it was the root from which grew up the haughty patriotism of Rome, was also the cause of its speedy decline. The personal exercise of the legislative power became more dangerous with every accession to the number of citizens, and with every step which individuals made towards the acquisition of extraordinary wealth. Between the years 594 and 639, we have eight statements of the number of citizens entered on the censor's rolls. The smallest return is 313,823, and the largest 394,336. In A. U. 725, Augustus took a census, and the three authorities which give us the returns (Eusebius, Suidas, and the Monumentum Ancyranum), concur, with minor differences, in stating the numbers at more than four millions.* The political rights vested by law in this immense multitude were in practice exercised for the whole mass, by the few thousands that tumultuously filled the place of meeting in the city.

The unavoidable ruin of the republic was precipitated by keeping up the Tribunitial College, which the reforms in the constitution had rendered worse than useless; a board possessing, in the veto of its members, a power

* Beaufort; République Romaine, livre iv. chap. 4.

which ought to be lodged in the higher, not the lower, orders of the state, and which, fortified by the inviolability of the tribunes, was greatly extended by their additional prerogative of presidency in the convocation of the tribes. The people, no doubt, required authorized protectors; but the form of the protection which the tribunate afforded them was altogether defective: it was too weak in good and too strong in evil; and it tended not immaterially to generate that ruinous spirit of antipathy which soon prevailed between the upper ranks and the great mass of the population.

During the two hundred and fifty years which preceded the fall of the republic, we may mark distinctly three Constitutional Stages. The first, occupying a century and a half, was, upon the whole, one of order. The second, of fifty-one years, commencing with the Gracchi, and closing with the usurpation of Sylla, was a time of internal struggles, and ended in the temporary destruction of liberty. In the third era, which also lasted fifty-one years, the constitution was dormant or extinct, and oligarchical rule alternated with civil war.

1. In the first of these periods two important changes took place.

The earlier of the two completely destroyed the hereditary constitution of the senate. The officers of state were originally entitled to a place in that body during their period of office; and they soon acquired a right, after the expiration of their functions, to claim from the censors enrolment as senators for life. At length, but probably not till after the time of the Gracchi, those officers, whose numbers were now larger, retained their seats without any formal enrolment. Military service in situations of responsibility also gave a claim to admission on the roll; and the censors filled up the remaining vacancies nearly at discretion, giving effect, however, to a property qualification.

A few regulations of this celebrated council may be specified before we trace it to its fall. The senate could be summoned only by the highest magistrate in town,

or by the tribunes. Its regular meetings took place three times a-month; but it could convene daily, and always sat within consecrated walls. The functionary who had called the meeting (excepting perhaps the tribunes), presided in it, called up the speakers, and collected the votes in a fixed order. A certain part of the senators, these probably, in later times, who had not borne office, possessed votes without the right of addressing the assembly. The vote was taken by dividing the house. There was a fixed quorum, perhaps 100 members; and if the number was not present, any member could have the house counted out.*

The second alteration was one which has been generally overlooked, but which clearly took place, and goes far to account for the fact that we read of no collisions between the convention of the centuries and that of the tribes, though in the age of the republic now under review the two were really quite co-ordinate. The former retained only some exclusive privileges, the chief of which was the right of electing all officers of state, except the tribunes and other plebeian functionaries. The important change now to be described annihilated or materially impaired the monopoly of influence which the richer citizens had possessed in that convention.

The division into Classes was retained, but the number of Centuries, assigned by Servius to each Class, was altered. Each of the highest five classes, excepting the first, now received an equal number of centuries; probably seventy, as we learn that the number bore relation to that of the tribes. This change did not take place till after the year of the city 512, when the number of the tribes had been raised to thirty-five, and there is reason to believe that it was introduced in A. U. 573. The gross majority of votes seems henceforth to have been possessed by the first, second, and third classes together; and as we do not hear of any rise in the qualification, a large num-

* Beaufort, République Romaine, livre ii. chap. 1. Middleton on the Roman Senate, part ii.

ber of the citizens must, long before the change, have been admissible into these, through the influx of wealth into the state, and the depreciation of the currency.*

2. The first events of the second stage were the commotions excited by the noble but incautious Gracchi, the grandsons of the great Scipio. The growth of the

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* The subject is curious, and has received little attention. The main proof is to be found in Livy, lib. i. cap. 43.—"It is not surprising," says he, "that the *present* number of the centuries does not correspond to that established by Servius; for, after the number of the tribes had been made up to thirty-five, the number of the centuries was so arranged, that for each tribe" (*earum* refers to *tribus*, not to *centuriis*), "there were now two centuries, a senior and a junior." The chief difficulty is, the reconciling of this statement with the known fact that the *classes* subsisted to the last. An obscure hint, contained in an old note to the passage (Drakenborch's Livy, note of Fulvius Ursinus, derived from the monk Pantagathus, who died in 1494), has been followed out by the celebrated Savigny, in a paper first published in 1805, in Professor Hugo's Civil Law Magazine: (Civilistisches Magazin, Berlin, 1812, vol. iii. p. 307). Savigny's theory is the following:—He supposes that each of the first five *classes* was divided into 70 centuries, receiving from each of the 35 tribes a senior and a junior century; that, in addition to the centuries so formed, the equestrian centuries continued to belong to the first class, and that their number was raised also, but only to 35, not to 70, because these centuries, as Savigny holds (founding on a very explicit passage, Quinti Ciceronis De Petit. Consulat. cap. 8), were all juniors, composing not the whole equestrian order, but a body selected from it; and that the sixth class continued to form only one century. In this way, the first class would contain 105 centuries, the second, third, fourth, and fifth 70 centuries each, and the sixth 1;—making in all 386. (It may perhaps be remarked, that there is no clear evidence that the number of the equestrian centuries was at all increased; and Professor Hugo observes; 1st, that probably no citizens of the first class were taken from any of the four Urban tribes; and, 2dly, that it cannot be assumed as certain whether the subdivision into seniors and juniors extended lower than the first three classes.) The date of this alteration is fixed with much probability by Professor Schulze (Volksversammlungen, p. 75). In Livy's history (xl. 51; A. U. 573) is a difficult passage, describing an alteration in the mode of voting (suffragia), which has been usually applied to the convention of the *tribes*, but which Schulze refers to that of the *centuries*, on the ground that we know the former assembly to have never admitted subdivisions, while the latter always admitted subdivisions of the very kinds which Livy here mentions. (See Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 19.)

people's collective power, and that of their personal wretchedness, had of late kept equal pace. The exertions of Tiberius Gracchus, as tribune, were confined to the remedy of personal misery. His first measure, which was carried and allowed to fall asleep, was a new Agrarian Law, reviving that of Licinius, though with several necessary mitigations: his second was an unsuccessful attempt to procure a grant from the treasury, for enabling the poor to stock the farms which his other act was to give them.* Tiberius, calumniated and intrigued against by the body of the patricians, and weakly aided by his few aristocratic friends, such as Appius Claudius, Scaevola the lawyer, and the orator Crassus, was at length (A. U. 620) deserted by the ungrateful people, and murdered. His younger brother, Caius, stepped into the breach, fired both by patriotism and by a burning thirst for revenge; and he too fell (A. U. 632), without benefiting the indigent more than Tiberius had done. He procured, indeed, a renewal of his brother's agrarian law, and also carried through his other measure; but both enactments were cunningly eluded. Another law of Caius, which experienced the same fate, was one for forming permanent magazines of grain, and delivering their contents to the poor at a price far below their value; a proposition forming the first step towards that legalized pauperism, which, unaccompanied by political disfranchisement of the paupers, soon became systematic in Rome. In other changes which he advocated, he attacked the prerogatives of the senate and the officers of state; and, by giving to the equestrian order the exclusive right of serving as judices or jurymen, a privilege formerly belonging to the senators, he attempted to unite the former into a body having an interest separate from that of the senate.

The last undertaking of Caius which requires notice,

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* Appianus De Bellis Civilibus, lib. i. cap. 9. Plutarchus in Tiberio Graccho, cap. 8. Heeren, Kleine Schriften, vol. i. p. 179, *et seq.* Compare Hooke, book vi. chap. 7.

was likewise intended to strengthen the anti-senatorial party. He proposed that all the inhabitants of Middle and Lower Italy should receive the Roman franchise. To a few Italian towns and districts citizenship had been granted, always under restrictions, and in most cases without votes. The rest, under various titles, as colonies, prefectures, and the like, were refused all such rights, and treated like conquered enemies: they paid heavy taxes, from which all Romans were exempted; they had to support expensive establishments of Roman governors, with their troops; and, besides the various humiliations to which they were subjected, many of them were plundered and oppressed without protection or redress. All classes suffered alike; and the noblest native of a country town, himself viewed as an alien, might every day see a wealthy Roman manumit hundreds of slaves, and thus raise them into the rank of citizens. These causes of discontent, remaining unremoved, provoked, in thirty years after the death of Caius, a general war against the Romans, in which there fell on both sides 300,000 men. In the year 666, the dominant nation, at length humbled, passed successive laws, conferring the franchise on the whole Italian population as far northward as the Arno and the Rubicon; and Julius Cæsar extended the citizenship to the inhabitants of Upper Italy.

Before and during the agitation kept up by the Gracchi, the Ballot* was gradually introduced into every proceeding of the National Conventions. The ground assigned for the measure was intimidation on the part of the new aristocracy; and that body yielded to the popular demand, considering this grievance more tolerable than impeachments, or the loss of the public lands. The ballot was first introduced, in A. U. 614, in the voting at elections; and in 616 it was extended to the judicial votes of the people in all criminal causes, except im-

* Tabellam—vindicem tacitæ libertatis. Cicero De Lege Agrariâ, orat. ii. cap. 2.

peachments for treason. In 625, during the heat of the agrarian agitation, it was adopted in their legislative votes; and, finally, in 630, it was applied to trials for treason.* We know that the degradation of the political assemblies proceeded after this time with tenfold rapidity; that intimidation gave place to bribery; and that voting became a profitable and easy trade. A new coinage of words became necessary, to describe the machinery of corruption. The "Interpretes" were go-betweens, who closed the bargain with individuals, or with whole tribes or guilds; the "Sequestres" were the holders of the cash, employed with a view to evade the frequent bribery-laws; the "Divisores" handed the money to the party, and bore the same name with the officials who delivered the ballots before the vote. The whole class of such agents were termed "Sodales" (good fellows); and they and those they bribed were included under the name of "Operæ Campestres" (political operatives). For the state offence of which the bribers were guilty, the lawyers invented the name of "Decuriatio," or "Descriptio Populi."† But other causes of depravation were also at work: the constituency of that place and time was the very worst subject on which the experiment could have been tried, even in its application to bodies simply electoral; and the extension of the ballot to legislative and judicial votes,—a vice which the Roman constitution borrowed from the senates and tribunals of the Greek commonwealths, and transmitted to the Italian republics of the Middle Ages,—was a violation of principle which corrupted the system in every branch.

The political ingredients of the poison which destroyed liberty, were completed by the moral deterioration of the army. Caius Marius, on whose head rests the guilt of the civil wars, being made consul in A. U. 647, received among his troops the lowest class of citizens,

* Schulze, p. 256. Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

† Schulze, p. 162-169:—Beaufort, République Romaine, livre iii. chap. 6. Cicero, in his Third Book De Legibus, discusses at great length the principle and operation of the ballot.

who had never yet been *allowed* (for that was the Roman word) to serve as soldiers of their country. The precedent was followed by all the parties who successively possessed political ascendency; largesses from the general or from the treasury, and promised grants of public lands, soon trained up a mercenary host, no longer the servants of the state, but the hirelings of their captain. The commander of the army was henceforth the ruler of the commonwealth; and if laws continued to be enacted, touching either the constitution or the administration, they were enacted for show, and the great men's obedience to them was purely matter of condescension.

3. This is in brief the character of the last half-century of the republic. In reference to the constitutional history of the commonwealth, this age is almost useless;* but the Campus Martius and the Forum were never more interesting; for they were the stage on which appeared Cato, Cicero, Cæsar, and Brutus.

Sylla, playing off the selfish alarms of the rich against the wanton wretchedness of the poor, became by war and murder king of Rome for three years, giving to his military usurpation the old name of the Dictatorship, though without any ground of analogy.† His firm hand protected public order and personal freedom, especially in the harassed provinces; and he promulgated a code of constitutional laws, which are remarkable as a bold medicine applied unsuccessfully in an incurable disease. He annihilated the democratic principles of the republic, and made the senate its sovereigns. He strengthened that council by enrolling in it 300 of the wealthiest knights; he completely restored its judicial functions, and its initiative and veto in all the proceedings of the conventions;

* Cicero strikingly characterizes the times in the observation which he says was addressed to his grandfather by the consul Scaurus, just before the rise of Marius. "We do not at present acknowledge any laws of the constitution as subsisting: we are either concocting new laws, or trying to reinstate old ones which we have lost."—De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

† Machiavelli, Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Livio, lib. i. cap. 34.

and he enlarged its control over the officers of the executive. He re-established the Servian constitution of the centuries, and abolished the assembly of the tribes altogether. He deprived the plebeian tribunes of every prerogative except the veto, which he restricted to certain cases, probably those of personal aggression; and he artfully made their office contemptible, by declaring the holders of it to be ever afterwards ineligible to any public place. He lessened the power and influence of the elective dignities of state, by increasing the number of the individuals holding them; and introduced a rule (which subsisted in law, if not always in practice, till the end of the republic), that persons should rise to the consulship through the inferior offices by a fixed gradation, and should not be a second time appointed till after an interval of ten years. The system scarcely survived its projector, who voluntarily abdicated in A. U. 673. In a few years the tribunes recovered their wonted influence, and the national assemblies were placed on their former footing. The senate, however, struggled to retain their new privileges, and in most particulars succeeded.

Every one is familiar with the events which followed, and with the character of the actors. In A. U. 687, Cneius Pompeius, misnamed the Great, having contrived to render the populace manageable by the re-institution of the tribuneship, obtained powers which for a time laid the state at his feet. Three years afterwards, Cicero, elected to the consulship by Pompey's interest, crushed the insurrection of Catiline, with a firmness which his subsequent political conduct wholly wanted. The resolute and high-principled Cato was next, through the same influence, appointed a tribune of the commons. Julius Cæsar's rise followed: and his unjustifiable league with Pompey and Crassus, called the First Triumvirate, no sooner transpired than the small body of patriots deserted the new oligarchy. Cicero and Cato were immediately punished by exile; and Pompey's attempt to degrade his rival led to the invasion of Italy by Cæsar at the head of his devoted troops. The battle of Phar-

salia crushed the party of Pompey; and Julius, though he never received the royal title, was truly king of Rome during the four years which closed with his assassination by Brutus and the other republican conspirators. His reign was long enough for the reform of much that was amiss; but his usurpation resembled that of Sylla in little except the bloodshed which conducted to it, and the moderation with which the dominion, when once attained, was exercised. Cæsar unequivocally aimed at the establishment of a military monarchy; and while he checked the power of the people, and monopolized the public offices, he purposely degraded the senate, by giving seats to his own dependents, and even to foreigners.*

The parties which had been recently formed for maintaining the cause of constitutional liberty, had strengthened themselves by siding with the senatorial aristocracy against the combined forces of the successive oligarchies and their tools the populace. The slayers of Cæsar, however, appear to have acted without a fixed plan, and received no efficient support from either of the two great factions. In truth their dream of freedom for Rome was nothing more than a dream. The Romans were fallen; and it was better they should for a time serve one master than three or a hundred. This was exactly the opinion of the people themselves. The commonalty in the city, by deserting Brutus and his associates, significantly declared themselves unworthy to be free. The rest of the Italians were equally apathetic; the foreign provincials were positively hostile to the revolution; and the tyrannicides had to levy forced and heavy taxes from the towns within their reach, in order to pay the hireling soldiers who composed the army of liberty.† With the two battles of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius died, the repub-

* The Romans resented the intrusion of the strangers, and expressed their anger in pasquinades on Cæsar's barbarian senate, several of which have been preserved. One placard in the streets was in the following terms:—"If any new senator asks the way to the senate-house, it is particularly requested that no one will give him the information." Suetonius in Julio, cap. 80.

† Taciti Annalium, lib. i. cap. 2.

lican party was at an end; a struggle of eleven years followed between Cæsar's kinsman, Octavius, and his weaker rivals for empire, Antony and Lepidus, who had formed with him the Second Triumvirate; in 722, the battle of Actium destroyed Antony, the last competitor; and the conqueror founded the imperial power in Rome, becoming its first emperor under the title of Augustus.

The System of Administration and Finance.—During the whole republican period, the interest of Italian history centres in the capital. But the system pursued by the Romans both towards their dependent provinces, and towards the municipalities which, arranged in different classes, abounded in Italy, as well as abroad, opens a field of inquiry in which very important results may be gathered. It is, however, too wide to be fully embraced in a sketch like the present.

At the end of the republican times, we have to consider the Italian peninsula as reduced, for the purposes of general government, into one united province, placed immediately under the superintendence of the supreme rulers of the state. Sicily formed a second province, administered by a governor of its own, and subdivided into districts for judicial and financial purposes: Sardinia and Corsica together composed a third, having its principal seat of authority in the former island.*

The municipal system in Italy was still complicated, since those towns which possessed a civic constitution continued to be classed as municipia, colonies, or prefectures; distinctions involving differences of local government and right which are not altogether well ascertained. The municipia, however, the most favoured class, possessed their own curiæ or town-councils, their magistracies, and their funds, separated from the general revenue of the state, and appropriated exclusively to the public service of the community. The municipalities will present themselves more prominently to our notice, when we glance at the polity of the Lower Empire.

* Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Provinciarum, lib. i. cap. 3, 4: (In Grævii Thesaur. Antiquit. Roman. tom. ii.)

The financial system of the Romans must be examined rather more closely.*

The national religion was supported by lands and other funds set apart for the purpose, and exempted from all public burdens. The heaviest expense of the state arose from the pay of the army and the necessary charges for its support; besides which, there were the allowances to public functionaries, and the sums required for the purchase of grain in the frequent seasons of scarcity.

The chief sources from which the public revenues flowed, were the following:—

There were, in the first place, four principal sorts of impositions which lay primarily and originally on Italy, and may be regarded as having been the only burdens directly affecting those who possessed the full Roman franchise. 1. From the reign of Servius all the citizens were long subject to a property-tax (tributum), which, though not exacted every year, seldom failed to be so. Its amount was determined by the public exigencies for the time, and it was assessed in conformity to the returns made in the census last preceding. On the conquest of Macedon in A.U. 586, this tax ceased to be levied; and although similar impositions were sometimes laid on in later times, commencing with one exacted by the second triumvirate in the year 711, we may consider the old property-tax to have never systematically revived after its first discontinuance.† 2. In all the seaports

* Consult, for details on this head, Burmannus De Vectigalibus Populi Romani, 1734; and Hegewisch's excellent Historischer Versuch über die Römischen Finanzen, 1804. A good deal may be learned also from Bullengerus De Tributis ac Vectigalibus Populi Romani (in Grævii Thesaur. tom. viii.); and from Bosse; Grundzüge des Finanzwesens im Römischen Staate, 1804. But the principle of the leading taxes is distinctly unfolded nowhere, except in an admirable though short paper by Savigny on the Land-tax and Poll-tax of the imperial times, in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin for 1822-1823: (p. 27-71: Ueber die Römische Steuerverfassung unter den Kaisern).

† "The census ceased at the end of the Macedonian war. All later accounts of property-taxes relate merely to insulated, transitory exactions, and to no systematic or permanent regulation."—Savigny, p. 56.

of the Roman dominions, there were collected duties *ad valorem* on merchandise imported and exported. The owners of the goods were obliged to declare their quantity and value; undeclared articles were forfeited; and the rules as to the officials and other matters were not unlike modern custom-house regulations.* In the year of the city 693 these customs were, on the instigation of Pompey, abolished in the Italian ports, and were not re-established there during the existence of the republic. 3. From the year 398, the master of every manumitted slave paid a tax of 5 per cent. on his value; and this imposition seems to have become very productive. 4. A duty was early imposed on salt, which, according to a system adopted by some modern governments, was next converted into a state-monopoly.

A second class of permanent revenues was derived from foreign conquests.

For understanding the provincial taxation, however, we must clear the way by putting out of view those confiscated lands, usually a third of a conquered province, which formed the Public Domain. The early abuses of these territories in Italy have been described, and it has only to be added, that before the accession of Augustus the whole was irrecoverably alienated. The foreign demesnes were less glaringly misappropriated; for, if arable, they were either sold, remaining subject to a perpetual ground-rent, or let for a valuable consideration, or assigned for small annual payments, to the soldiers or other poorer citizens. Pasture-lands, and forests allowing pasturage, were retained by the government, who levied a fixed sum on every head of cattle that grazed on those tracts. In relation to the domain, in short, the state was in the position of a landlord or proprietor; and this part of its revenue must be carefully distinguished from that which it derived from the provincial territories as a sovereign.

We now pass to this second part of the revenue, arising

* Burmann, cap. v. p. 58, *et seq.*

from lands which continued to belong in property to the subjects of the state. After all the Italians had obtained the rank of Roman citizens, the rule was this, that all lands in Italy were free from taxation. The property-tax, into which the value of the soil, of course, entered, had been long abolished; and therefore the Italian land-holder paid no tax on account of his estates, and no direct tax whatever except that on manumissions. But the rule farther bore, that all provincial lands should pay taxes; and Cicero tells us how these were managed in his time.* In all the provinces, except Sicily, the lands were subjected either to a fixed tax in money, or to variable impositions, which were commonly farmed out in Rome by the censors. We know from other sources that these variable imposts, or the chief of them, consisted in proportions of the annual fruits, usually a tenth of grain, and a fifth of oil, wine, and garden produce. Cicero goes on to inform us, that all the estates in Sicily were in one or another of three positions. 1. The greater part of them, including indeed all except those which fall under the second or third heads, paid the same proportions of fruits (called decumæ or tithe), with which they had been burdened in the time of Hiero, and the imposition was administered by that prince's rules. It was farmed out, but in small lots, which were set up to lease on the ground, and were usually taken by the tithe-payers themselves, at a very moderate rent or composition. 2. The lands of a few towns which had been reduced after resistance, paid the same sort of variable proportions of their fruits; but the returns from these were leased out by the censors in Rome to the common farmers of the revenue. In short, lands of this description were exactly in the same situation as most of those in other provinces. 3. The territories attached to seven towns which had aided the Romans in their wars, were exempted from all land-taxes.

* Cicero in Verrem; act. ii. lib. iii. cap. 6, and Savigny's explanations.

These were the usual rules of the provincial land-taxes, which soon became the principal source of the state-revenue. Mines and minerals were taxed separately; and from the agricultural provinces, the principal of which were Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Macedon, extraordinary supplies of corn were exacted, when scarcity prevailed at Rome. Customs on merchandise were introduced in all the ports of the provinces, on the same system as in the havens of Italy.

It has been stated at the commencement, that the senate always possessed the prerogative of taxing the people; and it had also the whole management of the revenue; for to it the Quæstors or provincial collectors accounted directly, without dependence on the proconsul or prætor who was the local governor. The more weighty branches of the revenue were farmed on leases of five years, all the taxes of a province being usually contracted for in one lot. The amount of expenditure required for such speculations obliged the equestrian order, the capitalists of the republic, to form copartneries for taking the leases; and the united wealth of these monied houses accelerated the growth of an undue influence, which its holders abused grossly, both in their political intrigues and in their oppression of the provincials.

CHAPTER II.

The Political History of Italy under the Roman Empire.

A. U. 722—A. U. 1229; OR B. C. 32—A. D. 476.

FOURTH AGE: *The Heathen Empire* (B. C. 32—A. D. 306)—List of Emperors—Their personal Characters—Tenure of the Empire —The Political Franchise lost—The Military Force—The Financial System—The Two Exchequers—The Revenue—New Taxes and Burdens—Mode of Collection—The Municipalities—Their Prosperity—The general Decay—The Last Age of Heathenism.—FIFTH AGE: *The Christian Empire* (A. D. 306—A. D. 476)—List of Emperors—Disastrous External History—The Fall of the Empire in Italy—State of Public Feeling—Constantine's Administrative System—The Land and Poll Taxes—Ruin of the Municipalities—Their Constitutions—Singular Position of their Councillors.

FOURTH AGE.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN HEATHENISM.

A. U. 722—1059: OR B. C. 32—A. D. 306.

B. C.
32. Octavius Cæsar, called, from B. C. 27, Augustus

BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR.

A. D.
14. Tiberius Cæsar
37. Caius Cæsar, called Caligula
41. Claudius Cæsar
54. Nero Cæsar
68-69. Galba, Otho, Vitellius
69. Flavius Vespasianus
79. Titus
81. Domitianus

A. D.
96. Nerva
98. Trajanus
117. Hadrianus
138. Antoninus Pius
161. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
180. Commodus
193. Pertinax, Didius Julianus
193. Septimius Severus
211. Bassianus, called Caracalla
217. Macrinus
218. Bassianus, called Heliogabalus
222. Alexander Severus

A. D.
235-237. Maximinus, Gordianus I., Gordianus II., Pupienus Maximus, Balbinus
237. Gordianus III.
244. Philippus the Arab
249. Decius
251-253. Gallus, Hostilianus, Volusianus
253. Æmilianus
253. Valerianus
260-268. Gallienus, and the Rebels called the Thirty Tyrants

A. D.
268. Claudius, surnamed Gothicus
270. Aurelianus
275. Tacitus
276. Probus
282-284. Carus, with Carinus and Numerianus
284. Diocletianus; assuming (286) Maximianus as co-emperor, and (292) Galerius and Constantius Chlorus as Cæsars
305. Galerius and Constantius Chlorus

THE three centuries and a half during which classical paganism was the recognised religion of the empire, embrace deeply interesting events in the personal history of the emperors and other celebrated men. They display extremes of vice and virtue as widely distant as those which marked the republican times; although the sphere in which good men as well as bad now acted, was very different from that which had been open to their free ancestors. Augustus, whose real character was seen in the cold-blooded atrocities of his youth, assumed a seeming meekness along with the kingly power. The four Cæsars who succeeded him were, each in his own way, cruel and worthless despots. Vespasian was a wise man; his eldest son, Titus, was a good one; the third emperor of the same family was one of the worst of the Roman tyrants. For more than eighty years after Domitian's murder, the throne was filled by a series of monarchs as prudent and just as the world has ever possessed: Trajan, the second in the list, was a model for sovereigns; his successor was better as a prince than as a man; and the two Antonines were better men than princes. But the century and a quarter which elapsed between the accession of Commodus and the end of the heathen period, formed a gloomy age, of whose public wretchedness the shortness of the imperial reigns is one pregnant proof. Some of the autocrats were oppressors; several, like Alexander Severus, Pertinax, and Tacitus, were virtuous and excellent persons; Septimius Severus, Aurelian,

Probus, and others, were brave and successful soldiers; and Diocletian, with whom the period almost closes, was a stern but most able ruler. The personal history of the emperors has been told so often and so well, that there is the less reason for regretting the narrow limits which here forbid more minute details.

The pagan period commences by exhibiting the empire in its highest glory and prosperity; it embraces two centuries during which the universal dominion of Rome seemed to stand firm; and then, by a swift descent, the book of its annals leads us to a point at which the colossal fabric totters and is ready to fall. A volume would be required for delineating even in the barest outline the facts of those active ages, and the principles by which the events were ruled.* The purpose which this chapter is designed to serve will be in some degree answered, if we survey in rapid succession a very few points, relating to the Tenure of the Imperial Throne, the Financial System of the empire, and its rules of Provincial and Municipal Government.

The title by which Augustus pretended to the sovereignty, was that of a free election by the people, renewed from time to time. All names, forms, and ceremonies, which the free constitution held illegal, were carefully shunned; and all that the spirit of liberty had honoured, were protected and brought paradingly forward. But the republicanism was a wretched mask through which every man of information saw distinctly, though none was strong enough to tear off the disguise. From the very commencement of the first reign all the powers, both of the senate, the popular conventions, and the magistracies, were virtually and effectually secured to the emperor. The new prince united by degrees in his own

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, with all its faults, remains, and probably will always remain, the highest authority on all the great questions of the Imperial History, except indeed one, the very greatest, namely, the rise and progress of Christianity. The annotations annexed by Mr Milman to a late edition of the work, are well calculated to neutralize its most dangerous errors.

person all the ancient offices of state; or, at least, though he allowed the appointment of colleagues, he intrusted to them no share of the real administration. He founded, on his assumption of the tribuneship, a claim of personal inviolability, and on his title of Imperator, which we translate Emperor, a prerogative of absolute military command, not only beyond the city, which was the republican rule, but also within it; an extension of powers which directly contradicted the old constitution. His generalship of the armies, indeed, aided by the official weakness and personal subserviency of the senate, constituted the true ground on which his monarchy rested. But in appearance he was only the first of the senators; the august forms of the assembly were treated with profound respect; and the sovereign sheltered his ordinances under its name.

The National Conventions were used with equal consideration. Their legislative functions, it is true, were immediately allowed to drop, and the people never had spirit enough to insist on claiming them: but for a good many years the citizens were regularly summoned to elect the magistrates of the state; and, with a flattering deference to the distant Italian towns, Augustus framed regulations by which the votes of their municipal councils were taken, and transmitted to Rome in a sealed record, to be counted along with those which the inhabitants of the city gave personally in the Campus Martius. But when, in the later years of his reign, the crafty emperor felt his own strength, he restricted the elective franchise to a *congé d'élire*. His successor, Tiberius, taking from the people even this shadow of privilege, formally presented to them the officer whom he had himself selected, without so much as pretending that his nomination required to be confirmed by the meeting. Caligula restored the right of election, but almost immediately took it away again; and in his time we may consider the last mark of free citizenship to have been blotted out.

The power of Augustus in the capital was protected by his body-guards, the famous Prætorian Cohorts. This

dangerous band, receiving double pay and honorary distinctions, originally consisted of 10,000 men, afterwards of 15,000 or more, all of whom were Italians. Septimius Severus remodelled them, increasing their number to 50,000, and filling up their ranks almost entirely from the barbarians of the transalpine provinces. Foreigners had been already admitted by Commodus into the legionary army; and the step taken by Severus completed the ruin of military spirit in Italy. The soldiery had long before that time become the electors of the emperors. The family of the Cæsars, whose five successive reigns had given to the state the aspect of an hereditary monarchy, was extinct with Nero; but even he and his predecessor had been placed on the throne by the prætorian guards, on the promise of a large donative, which became indispensable on the accession of every new prince. Vespasian was raised to the sovereignty by the troops whom he had commanded; Nerva was elevated in the same manner; and no ruler made any attempt to curb the power either of the legionary soldiers or of the guards. But the influence of the army was sometimes eluded through the expedient introduced by Octavius, who nominated his successor during his own life; and from the time of Hadrian, the person thus appointed received the honorary title of Cæsar, that of Augustus remaining with the emperor. The weakness of Marcus Aurelius, in giving the throne to his profligate son Commodus, produced a contest among the soldiery, in the course of which the guards openly exposed the imperial honours to sale, and disposed of them to the highest bidder, Julianus, a rich old lawyer. The legionaries, however, immediately bestowed the empire on their commander, Septimius. Till the murder of the amiable Alexander Severus, intrigues in the palace alternated with mutinies in the camp in fixing the succession; but for half a century after that event, every emperor, except Tacitus alone, was merely the general of one or another of the imperial armies, and was carried to the throne from his tent, usually passing over the dead body of his predecessor. Several of the princes thus selected were men of the

lowest origin and grossest ignorance; some were foreigners; and the list embraces Pannonians, Goths, and an energetic but prudent Arab robber. The firmness of the warlike Diocletian, who was the son of a Dalmatian slave, ensured the sovereignty in a regular succession to himself and Maximian, and to their natural or adopted heirs, till the death of Julian.

The Financial System of the republic was entirely abandoned by Augustus, and a series of important changes at the same time facilitated the growth of the imperial prerogative, and augmented the misery and weakness of the empire.* He readily acknowledged the right of the senate to administer the state-treasury (the Ærarium), and to impose and assess the taxes which were to fill its chests. But, reserving to himself the military command, he established a second treasury (the Fiscus), which, though supplied from sources pointed out by the senate, was to be administered for the support of the army by the emperor, without control or interference. The fiscus, like the ærarium, was theoretically admitted to be the property of the state; but from the form of its superintendence, and the accessions it received, it was, as early as the time of Trajan, regarded as really the property of the sovereigns, its administrators. The provinces were divided into Senatorial, managed by the senate, and Imperial, managed by the emperors. The latter, which were the more productive, delivered their taxes and impositions wholly into the fiscus; and even in the other class of provinces, from an early period of the empire, the same exchequer received also all those state-revenues, which, by the practice of the republic, had been usually appropriated to the army. These included the income derived from the public woods and pasturages; which came in this way to be considered as the Imperial Domain. In fact, the ærarium received even from the senatorial provinces nothing except the customs. Farther, every new tax, with no important exception, was made payable into

* On the imperial finances, consult (besides the authorities cited in the preceding chapter) Gibbon, chap. vi. But one indispensable source of information is Savigny's paper formerly referred to.

the fiscus. From the beginning, the two treasuries were practically under the control of the emperors; and at last the ærarium completely disappeared, and the whole revenue of the state was delivered into the imperial exchequer. The date of this final step is uncertain; but it was later than the reign of Commodus. The senate continued, till about the time of Diocletian, to possess the right of imposing taxes.

The System of Taxation may be best considered in two separate periods, the earlier of which terminates about the reign of Marcus Aurelius. During this age the chief sources of the state-revenue were the following, some of which were ancient. The public lands yielded the same kinds of returns which have been already described; the tax on manumissions was still exacted; but the common opinion, that the property-tax continued to be levied under the empire, may be unhesitatingly pronounced a mistake, arising from a misapprehension as to the land and poll taxes. Any property-taxes then really raised were merely occasional, and, as we shall see, the plan was soon altogether abandoned. The provinces continued to pay land-taxes or proportions of fruits; but from the very earliest of the imperial reigns, there are traces of attempts to abolish the proportional impositions, and establish one uniform system of fixed land-taxes in money. The principal new burdens were these. 1. The customs, while they increased prodigiously in the foreign ports, were by Augustus re-established in those of Italy. 2. He also introduced a tax on inheritances and legacies, amounting to five per cent. on the capital, and payable in every case, unless the sum was trifling, or unless the successor or legatee was the nearest heir of the deceased. The wealth, the general celibacy, and the profligacy of the Roman nobles, combined to make this impost a most productive one. 3. The same emperor established a general excise of one per cent. exigible on all articles of consumption. 4. He imposed on bachelors heavy taxes, and disqualifications of inheritance, which continued in force till abolished by Constantine. 5. Several minor burdens, such as poll-taxes on provincials and others, and partial

assessments on the industry of traders and artificers, were added by different sovereigns.

In the second period, extending from the Antonines to Constantine, there were introduced various changes, of which there were two that deserve notice. In the first place, Caracalla conferred the nominal franchise of Rome on all the provincials, in order to make them liable to the inheritance-tax, and other burdens leviable only on citizens. Secondly, a more important revolution, which is of obscure origin, but had commenced before the Antonines, was, every where except within the Alps, fully accomplished about their times, and altered the entire system of public burdens. The old property-tax, assessed on a man's whole means of every sort, was quite abolished; and there were substituted for it two separate imposts, a Land-tax, and a Capitation or Poll-tax. All the variable exactions levied on the provinces were gradually commuted for these two fixed ones; but Italy was long allowed to remain on a different footing, which may perhaps be traced to an early date in the empire. The district which was under the prefect of Rome, called Italia Urbicaria, was entirely free both from land-tax and poll-tax. The rest of the peninsula, styled Italia Annonaria, had to furnish the capital with quantities of corn, certainly not large, and exigible in kind. When Diocletian divided the empire with his colleagues, and Maximian received Italy and Africa as his share, the former country was subjected to the same land and poll taxes as the provinces. But the system will be most conveniently explained when we have reached the next period.

In the Local Collection of the Revenue, the imperial rule introduced one great improvement. The system of leasing out the returns was at once given up, except in the customs and excise, which were allowed to remain as before. But any amelioration which this partial change might have produced in the condition of the Roman subjects, was more than counterbalanced by the new plan of provincial superintendence, which was framed with an express view to the collection of the revenue.

Although it allowed good administration, if the supreme government was well conducted, it left the people deprived of all peremptory check over their local rulers. Under the best monarchs, the provinces were much more equitably and kindly governed than in the last days of the republic; but under the tyrannical ones, their state was worse than it had ever been; and the good princes had seldom time to repair the mischief done by their predecessors. One proof of general poverty is this; that the emperors were very frequently obliged to remit long arrears of taxes due by whole countries; and it is remarkable that such remissions were found necessary at the termination of some of the best reigns. Trajan's is an example; for Hadrian, on his accession, had to forgive very heavy public debts.*

Into those provinces which were senatorial, the senate continued to send proconsuls or prætors as Governors: into all of them, however, senatorial as well as imperial, the emperors sent Procurators to administer those finances which fell to the fiscus, naming these officers without consulting the senate. In the smaller provinces, for the sake of economy, the procurator of the fiscus was also appointed governor, with full judicial powers and military command. Freedmen, that is, emancipated slaves, were frequently, even by Augustus, named to that charge; and Claudius introduced a yet more ruinous system, granting to all such persons, whether they were governors or not, jurisdiction without appeal in every matter regarding the imperial treasury. The better emperors in the second century of our era limited this authority; but it was never wholly abolished. Judea was one of those small provinces in which the procurator was also governor; Antonius Felix, its unprincipled administrator, was the brother of Pallas, the favourite of Claudius, and both of them were freedmen. The historian tells us that Felix ruled with the power of a king and the soul of a slave; and he was only one of a numerous class.†

* Ælius Spartianus in Hadriano, cap. 7.

† Acts, chapter xxiv. Taciti Annalium, lib. xii. cap. 54: Historiar. lib. v. cap. 9.

During the imperial times, the Municipalities of Italy suffered changes yet greater than those which took place in other branches of polity. Rome was the first town to receive a new plan of local administration. Under the republic, the internal administration of the capital had belonged to the principal officers of the general government; but Augustus erected it and the district extending to the hundredth milestone on each side, into a sort of province by itself, which was placed under an officer appointed by the emperor, and named, in imitation of an old title, the Prefect of the City. This functionary was the imperial governor of the district, the head of its police, and its supreme criminal judge, to whose jurisdiction all, with very few exceptions, were directly subject.* Surrounded by his six lictors, he exercised, with no responsibility save to his master, the united powers of all the republican magistrates. The city was at the same time divided into fourteen regions, each of which had two police superintendents, called Curators, and as many paid informers or Denunciators. Vespasian again subdivided it into vici or wards, of which every region contained seventy-nine or more; and each ward received four resident inspectors, called Vicomagistri. A formidable military police (the Vigiles), composed of 4900 trained slaves, was organized by Augustus, placed under a prefect, and divided into seven cohorts, each of which acted in two regions of the city.

The other towns of Italy, as well as of the whole empire, gradually lost their distinctions of rank and title; and after the abolition of the elective franchise, the name of Municipium was indifferently applied to all. The term, indeed, was strictly and generally applicable; for the municipalities actually rose on the ruins of the commonwealth; and a new system for their administration, begun by Trajan, and carried on by Hadrian, was completed by the Antonines. The funds of those burgal communities were preserved to them, and augmented by laws which facili-

* Drakenborch de Præfectis Urbi, cap. vi.: De Jurisdictione.

tated their acquisition of property, both real and personal; their wealth enabled them in every instance to execute important public works, without imposing any local taxes; the members of their Curiæ or Town-councils, who were the administrators of the corporations, received honorary distinctions; and almost the only unfavourable symptom which showed itself, was the commencement of those strict obligations to serve the civic offices, which we shall immediately find to have afterwards become severe and ruinous. The flourishing state of the municipalities has, with much reason, been considered as one of the most influential causes of that strength which the empire so long possessed, notwithstanding the abuses which were so common in every other department.*

But the state carried rottenness in its core. Political virtue, as a general quality of the Italians or of their fellow-subjects, was long ago extinct; religion was dormant, and the sceptical philosophy of the educated classes was as immoral as the uninformed superstition of the millions; the wealth of the empire was in every succeeding century more and more concentrated in the hands of a few, and the mass of the people became constantly poorer and more abject. In the city of Rome, Augustus fed 300,000 paupers; Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, gradually increased the number; and their successors had a yet harder task to perform in supporting the multitudes who had neither possessions nor employment.

In Diocletian's time, the emperors had assumed regal and oriental pomp. The public revenues, and the empire itself, were held to be their property, and their expenditure of the funds of the state for national ends was styled and considered a gift, not the performance of a duty. The nominal limits of the Roman dominion were nearly the same as in the peaceful reign of Augustus, embracing the richest and most cultivated portions of the earth, in the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean.

* Consult, on the municipalities under the empire, Roth De Re Municipali Romanorum. Stuttgard, 1801.

The boundaries, which were never permanently passed, were these: the Rhine and Danube, and the mountains of Scotland, in Europe; the Euphrates and the Syrian deserts, in Asia; and the sandy Sahara in Africa. But these frontiers were now surrounded by active and warlike barbarians; the great migration of the northern tribes had unequivocally commenced; and the displaced nations, together with some of their invaders, pressed forward into the Roman provinces, and even into Italy itself. Under Aurelian, it was thought necessary, for the first time since the days of Servius Tullius, to fortify the imperial city; and Diocletian, dividing the administration of the empire, ceased to consider Rome as its capital.

FIFTH AGE.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE TILL ITS FALL IN ITALY.

A. U. 1059—1229; OR A. D. 306—476.

A.D.
306. Constantinus the Great, proclaimed at York 25th July 306; sole emperor from 323; transfers the seat of government to Constantinople 330
337. Constantinus II., Constantius, Constans, co-emperors
340. Constantius, Constans, co-emperors
350. Constantius
361. Julianus the Apostate
363. Jovianus
364. Valentinianus I., Valens, co-emperors. Formal division of the empire into Eastern and Western
367. (Eastern) Valens; (Western) Valentinianus I. and Gratianus
375. (E.) Valens; (W.) Gratianus and Valentinianus II.
379. (E.) Theodosius I. the Great; (W.) Gratianus and Valentinianus II.
383. (E.) Theodosius I., Arcadius, co-emperors; (W.) Valentinianus II.
392. (Whole empire) Theodosius I. and Arcadius
395. (E.) Arcadius; (W.) Honorius
408. (E.) Theodosius II.; (W.) Honorius
423. (E.) Theodosius II.; (W.) Johannes
425. (E.) Theodosius II.; (W.) Valentinianus III.
450. (E.) Marcianus; (W.) Valentinianus III.
455. (E.) Marcianus; (W.) Maximus, Avitus
457-474. (E.) Flavius Leo; (W.) Majorianus, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius
474. (E.) Flavius Leo II.; (W.) Julius Nepos
474-475. (E.) Zeno; (W.) Julius Nepos
475. (E.) Zeno; (W.) Romulus Augustulus
476. Italy seized by Odoacer.

The accession of Constantine the Great was a mighty epoch both for Italy and for the world. He removed the seat of the government to Byzantium, or New Rome, afterwards called Constantinople, being influenced by the double reason, that the residence of the emperors was required nearer the disturbed frontiers, and that the Italian peninsula, still substantially a heathen country, was ill fitted to be the centre of a Christian kingdom. He established the gospel as the religion of the state, and paganism never again reared its head, except in the short reign of his able nephew Julian the Apostate. Constantine's own character, it is admitted, was an ambiguous one, and those of his successors offer few points of interest, if we except that of the strong-minded and enlightened Theodosius the Great. The faith of Christ, when it became the creed of the empire, had already received many of those debasing elements which in succeeding times continued to mingle more and more deeply with its essence; and the imperfect morality of the times in private life was accompanied with but few instances of political wisdom or honesty, either in the rulers or in those whom they governed.

The external history from Constantine to Augustulus, is composed of intrigues, seditions, and struggles, every year more unsuccessful, against the attacks of the northern nations. The division of the empire into two, the Eastern and Western, first introduced in the year of our Lord 364, and permanent from 395, restored to Italy the advantage of being one of the seats of government; but the separation produced no material increase of strength. One invasion followed another in a rapid succession, of which it is useless to enumerate all the steps. The West Goths (Visigoths) under Alaric in 400, were followed across the Alps in 405 by a new army of the same nation under Radagai, and these again were succeeded in 408 by the reappearance of Alaric's host, which, about 410, took and pillaged the capital. Attila the Hun, named the Scourge of God, invaded Italy in 452; and in 455, the Vandals under Genseric plundered the imperial city during

forty days, carrying off the noblest of the citizens into Barbary as slaves. In 472 Rome suffered another sack from Ricimer the patrician, a claimant of the throne for his father-in-law Anthemius. More than one emperor had facilitated the progress of the barbarians by giving them lands within the frontiers; every one of them recruited his legions from among these fierce tribes; and Constantine, imitated by his successors, acted still more unwisely, for he formed them into separate battalions, retaining their national arms and customs, and commanded by their own chiefs. After this step, which enabled the Germanic soldiers to compare themselves with the effeminate troops of the south, it is surprising they did not sooner use the strength of which they were conscious. But most of the northern leaders who invaded Italy in the fifth century had in fact obtained their military education in the imperial camps; and at last Odoacer, a prince of the Heruli, a nation which had advanced southward from the Pomeranian shore of the Baltic, seized the country at the head of an army levied for the service of the emperor and receiving his pay.

It is impossible to read the epistles and contemporary histories of those times without being struck by one remarkable fact. The Italians and other Roman subjects might, it is true, be terrified by the approach of savage robbers like the African Vandals, but towards the northern invaders in general they entertained neither fear nor hatred. They knew, for they learned after one or two trials, what they had to suffer from the so-called barbarians: they knew also what they had to endure under the imperial government; and they were perfectly careless which of the two classes of evils might fall to their lot. The paid armies of the emperors, and the tribes of the Teutonic chiefs, were allowed to fight for the possession of Italy, while the children of the soil looked on. This is a fact which by itself condemns the times of the lower empire as ages of misgovernment and misery, and such they truly were. All the particulars of their misrule and wretchedness, if united

in one catalogue, would make the heart turn sick. At present we must content ourselves with indicating a few sources of discontent, in the General and Local Administrations, whose progress during the heathen period has been already related.

Constantine divided the empire, after the example of Diocletian, into four great Prefectures. The Prefecture of Italy extended over the Mediterranean islands, and embraced the countries to the north of the Alps as far as the Danube, with Illyricum and the African coast. He farther completed Diocletian's plan for separating the civil from the military government. Every prefecture was put under the civil superintendence of a Prefect, who succeeded to the title, as well as to part of the functions, which had recently belonged to the prefect of the Prætorian Guard; this office having from Severus till Diocletian been the first administrative and judicial as well as military post in the empire. The provinces, of which the four prefectures together contained 116, were under civil Governors, who held different ranks and titles. All of them without exception were lawyers. The army was placed under eight Generals, each having an extensive territory of his own; and under these were numerous provincial commanders bearing the titles of Comites and Duces (counts and dukes), the former being the name of higher rank. The separation of the civil power from the military helped to secure the throne of the emperors, but it weakened the defence of the state against its foreign enemies, and no change which took place tended in the slightest degree to alleviate the burdens of the people. Oppression and deliberate cruelty had ceased to be the favourite crimes of the rulers; but extortion and financial injustice, long prevalent and ill checked in the provinces, were now aided in their ruinous effects by new and most severe additions to the public taxes.

Increased taxation was rendered necessary by the increased expenditure; and this was occasioned by the wars, the pay of the barbarians and other troops, the shameful extravagance of the luxurious court, the pro-

vision of corn and similar necessaries for the poor who flocked to the two capitals, and the continued maintenance of baths, public spectacles, and other establishments for the diversion of the people. The two principal additions were the following:—1. The Aurum Coronarium, or Crown-money, was, like our English benevolences, termed a free gift, but, like them, was truly an enforced tax. It was demanded from the cities and provinces whenever the emperor, finding his exchequer empty, chose to intimate some happy event in his person or family, on which it was reasonable that his subjects should offer their congratulations. 2. The Lustral Contribution, the worst imposition of all, was a general tax on trade and productive industry, to which even the poorest day-labourer in the land was ruthlessly subjected. One leading regulation regarding this most impolitic exaction, though it bore the appearance of a merciful indulgence, proved the source of incalculable misery. Its collection was not enforced annually, but in the beginning of every fifth year the payments for the four years preceding were pressed with extreme rigour. The poorer classes, tempted by the seeming boon of delay, and finding it hard enough to gather the required sum for each season, allowed the arrears to accumulate, and then were utterly unable to satisfy the claim. Their goods were seized, and they were themselves imprisoned, chained, and scourged. A law of Constantine ascribes these severities to the officers of the exchequer, and forbids the heavier punishments, restricting the penalty to confinement under certain regulations. But the practice continued, in spite of his law and those of his sons to the same effect. All the old burdens still remained, except those which had merged in the lustral tax, and in those next to be described.

About the reign of Constantine the machinery of the Land-tax and Poll-tax, which, after this period, are commonly spoken of together under the name of the Indiction, was brought into full operation in Italy as well as in the provinces, into which latter we remarked its intro-

duction during the preceding age. The general principle was this; that the Land-tax should be levied on all estates, whoever might be their possessors, and that the Poll-tax should be exacted from every person who had no territorial property, and at the same time no rank or honorary privileges conferring exemption. Such exemption belonged to all the different degrees of nobility instituted by the later emperors, the lowest rank which bestowed it being that of the decurions of the municipalities. All who were liable to the poll-tax were designated Plebeians, and were composed of three classes:—in the towns, those free citizens who had neither lands nor privileges, and who chiefly consisted of the artisans and labourers; in the country, the coloni, or peasants attached to the soil, whose position will be explained in another place; and the slaves both in town and country. The two latter classes were exceedingly numerous in comparison with the free urban inhabitants. Some who properly ranked in this new order of Commonalty enjoyed immunity on various accounts, as being the holders of certain public offices, or as soldiers, widows, and nuns; but it was expressly enacted that holy orders should be no ground of exemption. For the purposes of the land-tax there was a general register of the lands in the empire, which contained returns made by every landholder, under severe penalties, of all particulars necessary for the valuation of his estates, and which specified the sum assessed on them proportionally to their value, the assessment being corrected periodically. But the land-roll contained also returns for the poll-tax; for the proprietor was compelled to give up the names and number of his slaves, and also of his coloni and peasants of all classes. He paid the capitation-tax for every slave, and he also paid it for every colonus, being, however, entitled to recover the amount from the latter, if he could. This union of the two taxes, and the form of the land-valuation, which, dividing the ground into spaces called capita, gave the land-tax sometimes the name of Capitation, have been

the chief causes of the difficulties in understanding the subject. The apparatus used for the indiction was annoying and arbitrary, the amount of the land-tax was usually excessive, and its exaction was cruelly rigorous.

The Municipalities fared yet worse than the provinces. As Rome had no civic funds to tempt the government, and as its statues and buildings were the objects of an ignorant pride and admiration, it was for a time protected by a continuance of its old supplies for the poor, and was then gradually abandoned to its own destiny. Its internal administration remained substantially unchanged, and its Prefect, and the prefect of Constantinople, were made equal in rank to the four prætorian prefects; in other words, these six officers held the second place in the empire.

The other municipal communities were rich; and though the extent to which Constantine carried his spoliation of them is doubtful, it has been asserted, with some show of probability, that he seized a part at least of the property of every corporate town in the empire, bestowing the plunder partly or wholly on the church. At all events, it is certain that within a few reigns after his, the municipalities of Italy were almost all utterly beggared; and their depression involved farther consequences. In the first place, their Councils were now authorized to tax the inhabitants for local purposes; a measure which appears for the first time in the Eastern Empire under Arcadius. The system as to the holding of office, which had been growing for centuries, was rapidly brought to maturity; and, as it presents several very singular features, a sketch of its chief peculiarities in the Western Empire just before its fall will be instructive in more respects than one, though the details are involved in some obscurity.

The Magistracies and Councils still existed; and till after Constantine the former may be described as having consisted of three classes at most, the Duumvirs, the Ædiles, and the Curators. The first of these, who in some towns were the only magistrates, were every where

those in whom was vested the jurisdiction belonging to the corporation as such. In civil questions this jurisdiction was confined to sums below a fixed amount; and in criminal matters, except over slaves, it did not exceed the bounds which were necessary for maintaining the public police.* All judicial acts of the municipal judges were subject to revision by the governor of the province. The Ædiles, where they were found as different officers from the duumvirs, were nearly the same class of functionaries as those who bore the same name in the republic, or as the deans of guild in Scottish boroughs, though without jurisdiction. The Curatores Reipublicæ corresponded to the quæstors of older times, being the treasurers of the corporation.

But between the reign of Diocletian and that of Valentinian I., the emperors transferred the jurisdiction of the duumvirs, with considerable additions, to a new class of magistrates, whom they called Defensors. These novel authorities, and their mode of appointment, deserve especial notice; because, as we shall hereafter discover, their office formed in the dark ages the basis of the municipal government of Italy, and out of it rose the free states which covered the peninsula for some centuries after that period. By the rule which had prevailed in the Roman municipalities, from the earliest times till the institution of these officers, all the magistrates were elected by the curiæ, and none but members of the curiæ were admissible to the magistracy. The defensors dif-

* There is a difference of opinion as to the exact amount of the criminal jurisdiction possessed by the duumvirs; and the scourging of Paul and Silas by the magistrates of the colony Philippi (Acts xvi. 22) has been cited as a proof that such officers possessed the unlimited right of inflicting corporal punishment on free men. But the just inference from this passage, with the Latin writers and the books of the civil law, is plainly this: The magistrates were entitled to punish corporally all offenders, whether free men or slaves, who were not Roman citizens. In the apostolic times this rule brought far the greater number of the free provincials under the full criminal authority of the municipalities. But, after Caracalla had made the franchise universal, the very same state of the law, continuing unchanged, left the magistracies no such extent of jurisdiction except over the slaves.

fered in both respects. Any inhabitant of the place was eligible to the office, excepting indeed the members of the curiæ, who at first were held expressly disqualified; and the election was made by the whole laic community, to whom Honorius added, as electors, the decurions, and the bishops with their clergy. The term of office in the Western Empire, till the time of its fall, was five years. The appointment of the defensors required the confirmation of the prefect; and that officer, not the governor of the province, was entitled to remove them for misconduct. Indeed, by the definition which is given of their functions, they are declared to have been intended as the protectors of the municipalities against all parties, and in particular against the proconsuls and other provincial functionaries, on whose conduct they were empowered to report to the prefect.

The Curiæ survived the rise of the defensors, but their members, the Decurions, occupied a position which is quite unparalleled in the history of municipal institutions. They received their office either by birth or by election. The former class were those whose fathers or grandfathers had been in place, and who were on this account alone compelled to serve. If the number of this class was not sufficient, according to the particular constitution of the city, they filled up their board by electing persons from the community, being however directed to choose men of rank and wealth, when such could be found. Besides administering the public funds and, till the establishment of the defensors, electing the magistrates (whose appointment required no approval by the governor), the decurions also nominated to all the subordinate places held under the corporation. Among these, it is enough to specify that of the Irenarcha, an officer whose duties of arresting and interrogating criminals and transmitting them, with protocols, to the proconsuls for trial, assimilate the office to that of the procurator-fiscal in Scotland.

The Decurions enjoyed honorary titles, and ranked as the nobility of their towns; they were exempted from

the torture, from disgraceful punishments, and from the criminal jurisdiction of the governor of the province, who was bound, when they were charged with offences, to transmit them to the emperor for his judgment. They also possessed immunity from most public services; and, if they became poor, they received allowances from the corporation. But, on the other hand, as soon as the property of the municipalities was confiscated, they became the subjects of a long series of enactments, surely the most foolishly tyrannical that legislation has ever produced. The whole system, of which law after law developed the links, was intended for the strange purpose of making the decurions personally liable for all shortcomings in the municipal funds, which had been seized by the very rulers who made these laws. The older regulations, which had imposed on these functionaries severe restrictions in the disposal of their property, and in their transactions with individuals as well as with the public, were as nothing when compared with the multiplicity of new rules, of which one or two must here suffice as specimens. The decurions were, and indeed had always been, accountable for the very slightest neglect or omission in the discharge of their duties; but they were now, besides being compelled to take office, bound to find sureties for its due performance; a father was liable for the acts of his son, unless the latter had been emancipated, or the parent had protested against his election. All the members of the board were responsible for each other's proceedings; and, in the earlier part of this period, the decurions, who had nominated a magistrate, were jointly and severally held bound as sureties for him. When we recollect that the only funds of the corporations now consisted in local taxes, to be wrung from an unwilling and impoverished population, and that the imperial government was accustomed to order the execution of extensive public works, leaving the decurions to find the money as they might, we shall not be surprised that the appointment to office was considered

nearly equivalent to a sentence of confiscation, and that the unlucky nominees sought to escape by every sort of pretence, and even by voluntary exile. All such evasions were rigorously punished; and when every method had failed in procuring members for the councils, the emperors took the last steps in their course of legislative folly. By some laws they made the holding of office a title to relief from civil disabilities, as in the case of bastards, who were thereby legitimized: by others they made it a punishment, impressing into the councils, like Valentinian I., the sons of veterans who refused service, or, like Honorius, clergymen whom the bishop had suspended.

In the whole list of emperors from Constantine to Augustulus, none can be named as having legislated for the municipalities with any degree of fairness, except Julian and the two who bore the name of Theodosius. The only redeeming point in the condition of the curiæ was, that their evils pressed on a class of persons numerically small; for the richer citizens alone were fixed on, and even of these many were able by money or favour to procure exemptions. The great mass of the people scarcely felt the evils of the municipal laws, and the system, if viewed simply in relation to its immediate effects on the state of society in general, would not have deserved that minute notice which has been here given to it. But it well merits the closest study, not less on account of its influence on succeeding times, than for its importance as an illustration of that universal misgovernment which harassed the Lower Empire and accelerated its ruin.

CHAPTER III.

The Literature of Heathen Italy.

PERIOD ENDING A. U. 1059, OR A. D. 306.

GRECIAN LITERATURE in Magna Græcia and Sicily—Its Four Centuries—The chief Writers—Its decay after the Roman Conquest. ROMAN LITERATURE: FIRST AGE (to A. U. 550, or B. C. 204): The Infancy of Literature—Its Progress after A. U. 500. SECOND AGE (A. U. 550—722, or B. C. 204—B. C. 32): *The Formed Literature of the Republic:* The Sixth Century of the City—Plautus, Terence, and Cato—The Seventh Century—Lucretius—Catullus—Sallust—Cæsar—Cicero's Works and Influence. THIRD AGE (A. U. 722—A. U. 767, or B. C. 32—A. D. 14): *Literature at the Court of Augustus:* Poetry—Patronage—Foreign Taste—Toleration—Livy—Propertius and Tibullus—Ovid—Horace's Works—The Character of Virgil's Genius—His National Poems—The Georgics—The Politics of the Æneid—Its Antiquarianism, Topography, and Poetry. FOURTH AGE A. U. 767—933, or A. D. 14—180): *Literature from Augustus to the Times of the Antonines:* The Character assumed by Literature—The principal Authors—The Elder Pliny—Seneca—Lucan's Life and Poem—The Works of Statius—Persius, Juvenal, and Tacitus. FIFTH AGE (A. U. 933—1059, or A. D. 180—306): *Literature from Commodus till the Accession of Constantine:* In Italy no genuine Native Literature—The Greeks.

FIRST AGE.

TILL THE THOROUGH FORMATION OF THE ROMAN LITERATURE: ABOUT A. U. 550, OR B. C. 204.

A COMPLETE history of ancient literature in Italy and Sicily would embrace the mental cultivation of the Greeks as well as that of the Romans. For the Hellenic colonies of the west were not less active in the pur-

suits of learning than the mother-country; several illustrious names in Grecian poetry and science belong by birth to the Italiot settlements; and other Greeks, though natives of the old country, dwelt in Sicily or the adjacent mainland, chiefly after the Sicilian princes had begun to patronise art and letters. The Roman literature, however, must be regarded as the main object in this sketch: and it will be enough if we glance rapidly at a few of the principal literary events which took place in the Greek colonies before their subjugation.

Greek Literature in Sicily and Magna Græcia before the Roman Conquest.—If we pass over the early Italiot legislators, whose age is uncertain, we shall find the oldest Greco-Italian names of celebrity in the middle of the second century of Rome; and hence the duration of Grecian literature and philosophy in those countries extends to about four hundred years. The most ancient of their poets yield in importance to their philosophers; the list of whom opens with Pythagoras, whose visit to Italy is understood to have occurred about the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, in the beginning of the third century of Rome. Among his most distinguished followers were Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Timæus of Locri; but before these philosophers, and little later than the great teacher himself, the Ionian Xenophanes had founded, at Elea, his celebrated school. Epicharmus, a Coan, who spent his life in Sicily, and is said to have been an immediate disciple of Pythagoras, is also renowned as a poet; and in his name the Sicilians claimed the honour of having invented comedy nearly a hundred years before it flourished at Athens. Among the Greek comic poets, from Aristophanes down to Menander, several of the most famous were Italiots, of whose works we have only fragments, such as Alexis of Thurii, who was the grandfather of Menander; Sophron, who in the time of the Middle Attic comedy invented the Mimes; Carcinus, a Sicilian, and the two Philemons of Syracuse.

At the end of the third century of Rome, when its inhabitants had hardly escaped from the hands of Por-

sena, Syracuse contained more men of high genius than any other city in the world. These were collected at the court of the first Hiero, during his short reign of ten years, and among them were the greatest poets of the age: Pindar, whose odes have immortalized his Sicilian patrons; the pathetic Simonides, who was buried in the city by Hiero; and the sublime Æschylus, who died in the island at an advanced age, and is said to repose near the ruins of Gela.

Early in the fourth century of Rome, Herodotus the historian, and Lysias the orator, a native of Syracuse, were among the colonists who founded the city of Thurii; and about the same time Leontium possessed, in its citizen Gorgias, a rhetorician whose fame rivalled that of Lysias.

The next illustrious names meet us in the last half of the same century, at the court of the elder Dionysius, prince of Syracuse. Under him and his son, Sicily was honoured by the residence of Plato, though the nation derives no credit from the ingratitude with which its sovereigns treated the great philosopher and his distinguished friend Dion. The life of Plato was preserved from the cruelty of the tyrant by the renowned mathematician Archytas of Tarentum.

A mathematician of yet greater celebrity, Archimedes the Syracusan, devoted the best efforts of his skill in mechanics to the defence of his native town against the Romans, and was at length killed in the storming of it. Nearly contemporary with him, but chiefly resident at the capital of the Ptolemies, was his fellow-citizen Theocritus, the best known of all the Sicilian poets; whose imitators, Moschus, also of the same city, and Bion, who at least lived in the island, if he was not born there, probably belong to a time little later than his.

Immediately on the conquest of Lower Italy by the Romans, Greek began to fall into disuse. In a quarter of a century, more than one author of Grecian origin contributed to the infant literature of the Latins; and, in the first years of Tiberius, Strabo complained that Magna Græcia had ceased to be Greece, except in Taren-

tum, Rhegium, and Naples. In these cities, indeed, the language maintained a partial hold during the best times of the empire. In Sicily it kept its place still longer, as the dialect of common life; and the modern tongue exhibits marked traces of it, mingled with Saracenic words, which at length aided the Latin in driving it out. Literature, however, became Latin at once, both on the mainland and in the island; and after the subjugation of the latter, Greek was not used in the works of any eminent man belonging to those provinces, with the single exception of Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the times of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and composed a history of the world in forty books, of which there remain fifteen and some fragments.

Roman Literature in its Infancy.—The literature of the Etruscans, if they ever had any writings worthy of the name, is quite lost to us, along with the language in which it was embodied. The Romans borrowed their theatrical representations from Etruria, introducing them for the first time, as it should seem, about the year of the city 389: but the rude compositions of those ages have wholly perished. Till the beginning of the sixth century of Rome, her literature was a blank; unless we confer the name on such rude hymns as those of the Arval Brothers, or on the simple enactments of the Twelve Tables, or on those picturesque traditions which, speedily lost in their original shape even to the people themselves, are known to us only by their substance, partially preserved in the later histories.

Before that time, however, the language was developed to an extent which has not been equalled by any other people possessing no native literature; and in the works of their sixth century, the Latin tongue appears in a purity and nervous simplicity, which the polish of the two succeeding ages injured rather than improved. In every thing, however, which regards both the spirit and the form, the art of composition must be considered as having been in its infancy at Rome during the first half of that century; and the produc-

tions of the time may most fairly be classed separately from those which succeed them.

The first literature of the Romans, like that of every other nation, was poetical, or rather metrical; and it assumed three forms, those of the drama, versified annals, and satires. The dramatic poems of their sixth century were by far the most numerous. Their chief writers were natives of the conquered provinces in the south; the subjects and the form of the works, as might have been expected, were close copies from the Greek; and most of the dramas appear to have been mere translations. Prose writing began nearly at the end of this period, and was soon applied to history and practical science.

The earliest author of the time was Livius Andronicus, an Italian Greek, whose works were chiefly tragedies, though he also translated the Odyssey into Latin iambics. His first play was acted in the year of the city 513, and he was alive as late as 546. Cneius Nævius, who followed him, was his countryman, being a Campanian, and, besides tragedies and comedies, composed a metrical history of the First Punic War. In his comedies he imitated the personal attacks of the old Attic stage, and, after having been repeatedly punished for his libels by the exasperated Roman nobles, he died in 549. To these names must be added those of Cæcilius Statius, a comic poet, a native of Insubrian Gaul; Marcus Pacuvius, a nephew of Ennius, born at Brundusium, and a writer of tragedies; Lucius Accius or Attius, also a dramatist, about half a century younger than Pacuvius; and, lastly, the most famous author of the age, Quintus Ennius, a Calabrian (*born* A. U. 514—*died* 584). He was the dear friend of the Scipios and Lælius; his genius was all but deified by the Romans till the Augustan age; and the best poet of that era did not disdain to copy from him. His chief works were many tragedies and comedies, some epigrams and satires, and eighteen books of metrical annals.

The successive heads of the Cornelian family were the kindest patrons of literature in those times. The

elder Scipio Africanus was one of the first Romans who set a just value on intellectual cultivation; and the younger Africanus was distinguished for his successful prosecution of Greek literature, in an age in which that study began to be followed with universal zeal. On the defeat of Perseus, in the year 586 of the Roman era, the Macedonian hostages, among whom was Polybius, the historian, became his cherished friends. The banishment of the foreign teachers, effected soon afterwards by the gloomy Cato, did not damp the ardour either of Scipio or others; the three great sects of the Hellenic philosophy were represented at Rome, about the end of the century, by the three ambassadors of the Grecian states; and the enthusiasm for the newly imported literature was increased tenfold by the conquest of Greece itself.

SECOND AGE.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE ROMAN LITERATURE TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE REPUBLIC:

A. U. 550—722, OR B. C. 204—32.

Of the productions of Ennius, as well as of the lesser poets, who were named along with him, we possess only fragments; and our collection of complete Roman pieces commences with those of three writers, all of whom belonged to the latter half of their sixth century. These works possess merit and fame enough to entitle them to be ranked as classical; and, accordingly, in the analytical table which was given in the introductory chapter of this volume, the period of Roman greatness in literature was, in order to include their age, reckoned as commencing about the year of the city 550, or 204 years before the Christian epoch.

About the middle of the century we have the comedies of the Umbrian, Marcus Accius Plautus (*died* A. U. 569); at a time rather later, those of Publius Terentius, a Carthaginian (*born about* 560—*died* 594); and during the same age the works of Marcus Porcius Cato the Censor (519—607). Of the comedies of Plautus, which, about the time of the Antonines, existed to the number

of 130, we possess only twenty; but the six plays of Terence still extant are perhaps all that he wrote. The antiquities of Rome have sustained a very grievous injury by the loss of Cato's seven books of "Origines," the earliest prose history of the city; a work in which his antiquarian learning had full scope, and which would have been useful even on account of his violent prejudices. His remaining treatise on Rural Economy, having had its diction modernized by later critics, affords us little insight into the state of the language, though it is a very valuable record on the subject to which it relates. Plautus and Terence have reached us nearly genuine, and their works convert into certainty that suspicion of weakness and a defective originality in the new Latin literature, which is suggested to us by the fragments of the lost dramatists.* All the scenes of both authors are laid in Greece or its colonies; their plots, without exception, are borrowed in like manner; and as to their dialogue, that of Plautus is manifestly an imitation, while Terence's seems even to be, from beginning to end, closely translated. Authors who wrote on this system, and patrons who applauded them for doing so, occupied a rank equally low; but, besides the idiomatic vigour of style which distinguishes the one writer, and the unaffected purity of the other, both have merits of their own. Terence's delicacy of feeling, and his fine sense of propriety and symmetry, are evident in all his adaptations of foreign stories and sentiments; and Plautus, rude and boisterous in manner, has a vein of wild humour to which he sometimes gives full vent, by ingrafting on his Greek fables groups from Roman life, in a style of broad satire approaching to the freedoms of the old Attic comedy. The indecency of the stories, and the cool immorality of the characters, are common to both poets; but the vices they depicted were those of Athens,

* The catalogue of lost tragedies, from which fragments have been recovered, extends, as given by Fabricius (Bibliotheca Latina), to about 125, besides other plays, whose titles are not known. Of the preserved titles, there is not one which does not prove the subject to have been taken from the Greek history or legends.

a luxurious and decaying community, not those of the sterner youth of Rome.

After the taking of Carthage the diffusion of literature was rapid; and on the reduction of Sicily, Roman refinement quickly reached its utmost height. In the interval between those two events, we meet with only one famous name, that of the satirist Caius Lucilius, whose works have perished; but every department of intellectual exertion became more and more crowded with labourers. The cultivation of popular eloquence was general; the Gracchi, in the beginning of the seventh century, were followed by the orator Crassus, who was consul in 658, and by Marcus Antonius, who was murdered in the Marian proscription of 667, along with Mucius Scævola, the famous jurisconsult; and in the end of the century flourished, besides men of smaller note, Cicero's formidable rival Quintus Hortensius. Histories, now lost, were composed by this author, by the accomplished time-server Atticus, by Lucceius, and by Cicero himself, who also, with a few others, studied profoundly the philosophy of Greece.

But the half century which elapsed between Sylla's dictatorship and the fall of the republic has left us more than names. From this period we possess works of the following writers: in poetry, Titus Lucretius Carus (658—702), and Caius Valerius Catullus (*born* 667—*died after* 706); in philosophy, oratory, and general literature, Marcus Tullius Cicero (647—710); in philology and practical science, Marcus Terentius Varro (638—727); and in history, Caius Julius Cæsar (654—709), Caius Sallustius Crispus (668—719), and Cornelius Nepos.

Even the first age of the empire, the most polished era of Roman poetry, possessed no genius superior to Lucretius and Catullus; and though the former, if considered as an artist, must rank below the writers of the Augustan age, the latter is quite their equal, being not less admirable in the mechanism of his poetry than in its conception.

The only work of Lucretius is his didactic poem "On the Nature of the Universe," in which he expounds the tenets of the Epicurean philosophy.. His leading topics are arranged nearly in the following order. Commencing with the views of elemental nature held by his school, he next describes the properties of matter, and then proceeds to explain the essence of spirit. The theory of sensation follows, and is succeeded by the physical history of the earth, and an account of the rise of society and development of religion; after which the poem describes and attempts to explain many of the ordinary phenomena of the material world, with some of its temporary derangements. These themes, though affording abundant sources of illustration in poetry, are evidently too abstract to form the main subject of any poem, even didactic; and the work becomes yet more repulsive on account of the sceptical dogmas on which the reasoning is founded, and the little art which is expended on the plan. Materialism, and the denial of divine existence, lie at the root of the philosophy recommended by Lucretius. His attack on the false theology and superstitious observances of the Greeks has, in many cases, an overpowering force; but the temper of his system infuses a cold spirit into the work, and gives it, at the same time, a character nearly unexampled in classical poetry, by stripping it almost entirely of those decorative accompaniments which the ancient mythology so lavishly supplied. The imperfect form of the poem, in which the principles of the sect are dogmatically set forth by the writer in his own person, and relieved only by rare imaginative digressions, is common to it with all didactic poems, except some of our own times, in which the essential imperfection of that anomalous class of compositions has been in part remedied by throwing the work into a narrative shape. Lucretius, however, who had only the gnomologic verses of the Greeks as his models, is more constantly argumentative than any philosophical poet who has succeeded him, and few tasks can be more tedious than the perusal of his poem from beginning

to end. This labour, indeed, is least irksome to the professed philologist, who, in the purity of the style and the bold structure of the versification, can forget the weary barrenness of the matter ; but even the student of poetry must frequently bow with delight to the enthusiastic imagination which inspires Lucretius, when he forgets that he is a teacher of philosophy, and is for a time wholly the poet. There occur every where short snatches of imagery, warmly and clearly conceived, and expressed with remarkable felicity ; and few things are finer than some passages of greater length, such as the opening address to the Divinity of Beauty, and the description of the rise of primeval religions,—a strain which has been equalled in its kind by no man, and approached by scarcely any.*

We know little of this author's private life except that he put an end to his existence in utter weariness and despondency. The memoirs of Catullus, an opulent Veronese of the equestrian order, are scarcely less scanty, and he derives little honour from the best accredited incident of his life, his amour with the profligate sister of the unprincipled Clodius. The works of this writer are short poems, chiefly lyrical, in which he for the first time adapted the Greek measures to the Latin tongue. His alleged imitation of the Grecian poets must have some foundation in truth ; but it is scarcely so easy to believe that the chief objects of his study were Callimachus, and the other members of the artificial school of Alexandria. The love-poems, which are not the best, and the epigrams, chiefly launched at Julius Cæsar's minion Mamurra, are chargeable with voluptuousness and coarseness, though scarcely with more of either than belonged to most poets both of this age and the next. His rich imagination, his warm feeling, and his unsurpassed felicity of expression, qualities which form a character of pure ideality quite peculiar to him, are best exhibited in his verses addressed to friends, or com-

* Lucret. De Rerum Naturâ, lib. v., sub finem. Compare Wordsworth's exquisite delineation of the same pictures in the Fourth Book of the Excursion.

memorating favourite scenes, and in his few longer poems on imaginative subjects. Of the more tender class, we have delightful examples in the lines celebrating the Peninsula of Sirmio on the Lake Benacus, whose olive-groves now shade the ruins of the poet's villa; in the plaintive Invocation written at his brother's tomb; in the Epithalamium of Manlius and Julia, so full both of passion and fancy; and in the Acme and Septimius, a short poem whose tone of romantic fondness, and delicate sweetness of language, are most nearly approached by Coleridge's "Love." Catullus had freer scope for his clear poetic vision in the two mythological subjects, the Atys, and the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, which form his longest works. The latter of these is full of fine thoughts and bright lyrical pictures,—a fragment, indeed, but the fragment of a gem. The Atys is one of the most singular of poems, in the subject, the versification, and the tone of thought and imagery: all is wild and luxuriant, and its mysterious mænad inspiration is the more deeply felt the more it is studied.

If the poets of the expiring republic are worthy to be set up against their successors in the first imperial court, the last republican period stands, in prose, infinitely higher than the Augustan, which has little that can be compared to the mass and variety of the older works of that class, and no great name but Livy's to rival those of Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, Nepos, and Varro.

Varro, the most learned of the Romans, has left us a treatise on the Roman Tongue, and another on Rural Affairs, both of which, highly useful in their kind, may be passed over with Nepos' work on Celebrated Captains, whose chief merit is in the style. The greatest work of Sallust, which related the history of Rome from Sylla to Catiline, is lost; and we possess only his short histories of the Jugurthan war, and of the Catilinarian conspiracy. These tracts are written with an antique purity of style, a nervous conciseness and fullness of sentence, happily borrowed from Thucydides, and a high tone of moral feeling, which contrasted but too

strongly with the life of the author, a favourite of Julius Cæsar, and enabled by his patronage to accumulate in the provinces wealth which he spent in luxurious debauchery at Rome. The historical works of Cæsar, consisting of memoirs or commentaries on the Gallic and on a part of the Civil War, are too well known to require remark; and their perspicuous simplicity, their grasp of thought and quickness of observation, with the purity of their phraseology, at once familiar and elegant, vouch for the truth of the praises conferred on him by his contemporaries as being even greater in the closet than in the senate-house or the field.

Cicero's is by far the first literary name, not only of his own age, but of the ancient Roman world. In its rare union of warmth, practical sense, and astonishing versatility, his genius has scarcely any parallel; and his influence on the philosophical knowledge and opinions of modern Europe has been incalculable. The voluminous works of this great man, composed during the leisure hours of a life involved in the vortex of political contention, embrace a wonderful variety of subjects. His histories in Greek prose and Latin rhyme are lost; and the small specimens of his verses that survive leave no room for regret that we do not possess more. His important works are his Correspondence, his Orations, his Treatises on Rhetoric, and his Philosophical Dissertations.

The Correspondence includes letters from his family, and from Brutus, Cassius, Atticus, and other public men. Besides the high literary qualities and personal interest of these memorials, the collection is an invaluable fund of information on the history of the time, and the state of society and manners. Of his Orations we possess, in the common editions, fifty-six, of which two or three are incomplete, and one or two spurious. The merit of these compositions is unequal, and those on which the orator's fame must always rest are, besides the defence of Milo, the three sets of discourses directed against Verres, Catiline, and Mark Antony. The seven speeches which contain the accusation against Verres,

the rapacious and tyrannical governor of Sicily, are important not only for their indignant eloquence and their sound political philosophy, but for the light they incidentally throw on ancient art and luxury, and on the corrupt morals as well as the venal government of Rome. The four orations against Catiline soar higher in their vehemence and fiery force; and the perfection of his eloquence was reached in some parts of the fourteen harangues against Antony, which their author called Philippics, in imitation of the invectives pronounced by Demosthenes on the conduct of Philip. The second of these, the masterpiece of the series, is a tremendous attack on the clever but vicious Antony, who revenged by Cicero's murder the temporary unpopularity and eternal infamy to which that exposure of his vices consigned him. These three collections of orations, and a few of the others, such as the speech for Milo, and the partly thankful, partly admonitory address to Julius Cæsar on the pardon of Marcellus, are those in which we find most of that full vein of eloquence so admirable in the author's own hands, and so easily degenerating into tumid verbosity when taken up by his imitators. The Rhetorical works are of great value, exhibiting the art as it existed in a time and country which made oratory the universal study and indispensable qualification of its statesmen. The best of these treatises, the systematic essay "De Oratore," the historical work entitled "Brutus," and the illustrative sketch called "Orator," were the fruit of his most vigorous years.

His Philosophical works, however, are those by which he has most benefited his own and subsequent ages. They nearly equal in bulk the collection of his speeches, and traverse a wide field of speculation. In no department of research was Cicero, in the strict sense of the term, a discoverer, although his writings contain many observations of a highly original cast. His chief merit therefore consists in his having made himself extensively master of the Greek philosophy, and embodied its most practical branches in a form attractively eloquent, equally

divested of metaphysical abstruseness, and of rhetorical exaggeration. His writings, indeed, form only the portico to the temple of wisdom; but the singular beauty of the approach invites the student, and its ease of access secures his progress to the sanctuary beyond. He was the first Roman, perhaps the only man of his time, who studied Aristotle's works, of which the manuscript lay neglected in Sylla's library; but the sects whose principles he most fully elucidated were the Academics and the Stoics; and, throwing most of his dissertations into the form of dialogues, he expounds the tenets, now of the one sect, now of the other. Some of his philosophical works have perished. Petrarch, who possessed the only known manuscript of the treatise "On Glory," lent it to a friend, by whom it was either sold or lost; and the recently discovered essay "De Republicâ" has disappointed the hopes of scholars. His other tract on political philosophy, entitled "De Legibus," is inferior in interest to his ethical discussions, which, with the theological works, were written after the overthrow of the republic by Cæsar had for a time removed the author from active life. The books "De Finibus" expound the ethical doctrines of the three sects of Epicureans, Stoics, and Academics. The essay "De Officiis," one of his latest philosophical dissertations, inculcates the Stoical principles of moral duty, illustrating them with the finest skill and liveliness; and the "Tusculan Questions," the most delightful of all his speculative writings, discuss, in the form of dialogues, held at his villa near Tusculum, some of the most important topics, religious and moral,—the duty of subduing the fear of death, of enduring pain and sorrow with courage, of overcoming passion, and of believing in the all-sufficiency of virtue to secure genuine happiness.

THIRD AGE.

THE COURT OF AUGUSTUS.

A. U. 722—767; OR B. C. 32—A. D. 14.

The first imperial reign, which is proverbial as the Golden Age of ancient letters, has bequeathed to us a

few names and works fully justifying the praises which the era receives. Many of the forms which literature had assumed in the republican times, including all those which connected it with political life, decayed instantly, and of course. Oratory took refuge in the schools of the Greek rhetoricians, who could teach the manner of speech, but could neither breathe soul into the speaker nor furnish opportunity for exertion. For orators, therefore, we are no longer to look. Even philosophical and scientific studies, forced into the background, have left us no monuments belonging to the age now mentioned. History has given us only one name, though that one is Livy's; and, with this exception, the greatness of the Augustan literature is confined to its poetical compositions. There is much poetry that has a warmer flow than we discover in these,—there is much poetry that possesses an infinitely higher moral worth, from its closer alliance with life and its closer sympathy with the great interests of mankind,—but there is scarcely any single work, and certainly no body of writings, equalling the perfection of the Augustan poems as works of art, none which unite so many of the qualities of poetry even in its essence, and none so faultless in the mechanism and outward form.

The example of Augustus was followed by his courtiers, especially Mæcenas and Pollio. The native Italians who prosecuted literature with success were liberally patronised, provided always that their knowledge enabled them to gratify the taste for Grecian learning, which was universal among the refined aristocracy. Indeed the nobles made no secret of their contempt for the Latin tongue,—while scraps of Greek occupied the same place in their familiar conversation which French once held in some circles of our own country. Literature was allowed greater license in its politics than in its grammar. This reign, in fact, formed one long comedy, the scene of which was a supposed republic, the emperor being its first citizen, and the ministers of his mild despotism playing the parts of republicans with

as much gravity as he did. Respect to the commonwealth, and praise of its institutions, were things of course, to be found in books as well as in ordinary life. It was only necessary for the author, as for the private citizen, to recollect that the free state had now for the first time reached perfection, and that, so far as it had previously differed from its new condition, its burghers might be heroes, but its constitution was defective. Even if the understood limits of Augustan republicanism were sometimes transgressed by a warm-tempered poet, the crafty rulers let the offence pass, and were right in doing so. The literature of the day never reached the lower orders, scarcely indeed any order except the highest; and those who did read and were able to understand, were quite incapable, both morally and from circumstances, of moving one step against the new political system.

We have lost scarcely any author of this age, except some of those persons of rank, who, like Pollio, wrote with ease. In prose we possess Titus Livius, a native of Patavium or its neighbouring village of Abanum (A. U. 695—770). In poetry we have Publius Virgilius Maro, born in the neighbourhood of Mantua, and resident for the greater part of his life in Rome (683—734); Quintus Horatius Flaccus, a native of Venusia in Apulia (688—745); Publius Ovidius Naso, from Sulmo in the Pelignian district (710—770); Sextus Aurelius Propertius, an Umbrian, and Aulus Albius Tibullus, a Roman, both of noble birth.* The Greek writers of the day are beyond our limits. Diodorus, indeed, as a Sicilian, might seem to fall within them; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus must be named for his Roman History, and his residence of twenty-two years in the capital, spent in collecting materials for his works, and teaching oratory to the young nobles.

* The neglected poem of Gratius Faliscus on Hunting probably belongs to this age, and deserves to be mentioned as proving how feeble and mean it was possible to render the Latin of Cicero and Virgil.

Livy's Roman History consisted of about 140 books, and extended from the foundation of the city to the middle of Augustus's reign. Besides a few fragments and a complete epitome of the work, we possess only thirty-five of those books; namely, the first ten, which bring the narrative down to the year of Rome 460, and the twenty-five which immediately follow the twentieth. These embrace half a century, ending with the year 587, the earliest event mentioned in them being Hannibal's siege of Saguntum, and the latest the conquest of Macedon. The historical value of Livy's work suffers considerable diminution from the Grecian taste that prevailed in his day, from his neglect of constitutional questions, and from his open partisanship of the aristocracy. But its literary excellence can scarcely be too highly estimated. In the animation and picturesqueness of the narrative, in the heartiness of its patriotic feeling, and in its lively portraiture of the Roman character, it possesses qualities which make it the most fascinating of stories even to modern readers, and must have rendered it in the author's own age one of the most pleasing sacrifices ever laid on the altar of national vanity. Of the language either of Livy or of the poets in his time it is needless to speak: their diction is recognised as the standard of the Latin tongue.

Among the poets who have just been named, Propertius and Tibullus, whose works consist of reflective and sentimental verses in the soft monotonous elegiac measure, are not characteristic enough to deserve much notice. Both are palpable imitators of the Greeks, and our preference may be left doubtful between the obtrusively learned imagery and vigour of thought which distinguish Propertius, and the plaintiveness which pervades the love-poems of Tibullus.

Ovid stands infinitely higher. The careless elegance of his conversational style (the perfection of familiar Latin in its best days), and his sweetly flowing versification, qualified him well to be the poet of a refined society; and his subjects were not less happy than was his capacity

for treating them. The loose sentiment, moreover, which degrades his amatory poems, was but too well suited to the profligacy of his age. The Metamorphoses, an interminable series of narratives drawn from the classical mythology, was, with the Art and Remedy of Love, one of the favourite books in the middle ages, and gave to the moderns their first knowledge of the Greek fables. In many parts its richness of fancy, and in a few places its tenderness of feeling, are extremely delightful. The "Heroides," or letters of the heroic times, are artificial in their whole conception, with frequent touches of fine emotion and imagery; the "Fasti," which detail the Roman legends in their relation to the calendar, are of the greatest use as an antiquarian storehouse; and the desponding poems written from the poet's place of exile in Pontus, owed the interest which beyond any other of his works they excited in Rome, to his own history and situation rather than to their poetical merits.

Horace and Virgil, like the rest, derived from Greece the forms of their poetry, much of its materials, and much of its inspiration; but one cannot help perceiving that the studies of both were different from those of most men of their time. The later poets of the artificial school of Alexandria had been the models of Propertius and Tibullus, and even of Ovid, while the same patterns had materially injured the far nobler poetry of Lucretius. Nor was this evil effect altogether avoided by the two Augustan laureates; but their distinguishing characteristic was, that they went back to the old fountains of the Grecian poetical paradise, and from these drew their essential conceptions of the art. Apollonius Rhodius might give aids to Virgil, but Homer was his master; Horace might abandon imitation of Pindar as equally unsuited to the bent of his own intellect and the temper of the age, but that great genius was still the prototype to which he looked back with admiring regret. If Ovid was qualified to please a luxurious generation by holding up to it its own image, Horace and Virgil were able to lead their contemporaries while they seemed only

to follow; and on modern literature these two have exerted a greater influence than any other ancient poets.

In spirit, though not in form, Horace's odes are as original as his satires. With the light playfulness of the court-poet they unite much of the practical energy which belongs to the man of action; they frequently rise high in the visionary region of lyrical imagery and feeling; and they sometimes, though rarely, flame out with a stern moral sublimity. This last and loftiest flight is prompted only by one source of inspiration,—the recollection of Roman greatness. From the imperial terraces of the Palatine Mount the lyrist casts his eye on the Capitol and Forum; the bitter feeling of the moment is relieved by a burst of indignant scorn, or by a rapid sketch of republican grandeur; and he then turns away, in homage to the powers he served, to weave again his links of mythologic fancy, or to inculcate with a poet's art his lessons of worldly wisdom. This character of acute observation, which he uses for the purpose of insinuating rather than teaching easy maxims of duty, constitutes the spirit of Horace's Satires. The form of these poems was of his own invention, for neither his own countrymen nor the Greeks possessed writings of the same kind till his time, though both had compositions which received the same name. These Horatian satires and epistles, travelling a middle road between prose and poetry, are equally admirable in their mechanism and in their matter. As portraits of Roman manners in the age they describe, they are not more lively than instructive; as works addressed to the nation whose weaknesses they paint, their skill of execution is unrivalled.

Virgil possessed neither Horace's sagacity of observation nor his lively interest in contemporary life and political relations. He was wholly the poet and the artist, endowed with all the qualifications of the latter character, and with many of the most exquisite gifts of the former. As a poet, every feature of his genius is subservient to one leading faculty, his unequalled sense of beauty,

clear, delicate, and ideal, which attuned the flow of his verse, ministered to his felicity of language, and dictated the themes on which his delighted fancy retired to repose itself. Primeval simplicity and grandeur, pastoral life amidst the luxuriance of rural nature, heroic adventure seen through the mist of time, and antique worth exalted into calm greatness by imagination, were the elements of the world in which his thoughts dwelt; and the purposes to which he turned these favourite visions, were equally well chosen for creating his fame among his contemporaries, and for preserving it with posterity.

His Idylls, examples of an ill-invented species of poetry, an illegitimate drama to which no degree of skill can give much interest, were early attempts; and, though works of high promise, they have much of the false Alexandrian taste, and develop but imperfectly Virgil's highest qualities. Some of them, however, were the means of introducing him to the patronage of Augustus and Pollio, before he had reached his thirtieth year; and after writing a few more, he retired to the beautiful neighbourhood of Naples, where, in the course of seven years, he completed his Georgics, undertaken, it is said, at the suggestion of Augustus and Mæcenas, who, alarmed by the general neglect of agriculture, wished to make the art fashionable. The choice of the subject, and the purely didactic portions of the poem, call for no remark. As a work of art it is superior to any composition of the author, perhaps to all the didactic poems ever written. Every thing is done to idealize the theme; there is thrown about it a gorgeous veil of mythological and historical imagery; and the scene is shifted from spot to spot of the most lovely landscape. The Georgics were completed about the time of Antony's final ruin and the elevation of Octavius to the uncontrolled sovereignty.

Virgil's last and greatest work, which was commenced soon after, in the fortieth year of his age, had not received his last corrections when he died at Brun-

dusium, in his fifty-second. Politically considered, the legendary story which the Æneid tells, was in itself perfectly harmless to the new dynasty; and it may perhaps have been thought that it would even be useful in the foreign provinces, by magnifying the original greatness of Italy and Rome. In the way in which it was treated it directly served Augustus; for, by recognising his claim of descent from the fabulous founder of the Greco-Latin race, it reared up in his favour a kind of divine right to the first magistracy of the republic. These pretensions of the Julian family, and the general study of Greek antiquities to the utter neglect of those indigenous to the peninsula, were sufficient reasons why Virgil should adopt, as even Livy the historian did, the fable of the Trojan descent of Rome, instead of searching among the national legends for another hero and another tale. The true materials of Italian history, however, were clearly known to him; and he has made most skilful use of his antiquarian knowledge, in the account he gives of the adventures of Æneas, and of the state of Italy in his times. A considerable portion of his historical details, and a little of his supernatural machinery, are native to the soil, though these features are kept in studied subordination to the foreign outline. For some of the most lovely scenes of his beautiful country, Virgil, in this poem, did the same service which Scott has performed for so many places in Scotland. In the neighbourhood of Rome, along the Tiber, and on the coast stretching southward from its mouth, which though now a woody marsh, was then covered by a chain of villas, lay numerous spots which thenceforward were irrevocably associated with the finest poetry and the most ancient legends of the country. In the vicinity of Naples, likewise, the favourite resorts of the luxurious aristocracy were elevated into the rank of mythological scenes; their sulphureous fountains exhaled the breath of the buried giants; the oyster-preserves became the lakes and rivers of Hades; and the fashionable cemetery of the Augustan age, among delightful woods and vineyards,

and below the huge rock of Misenum, were, by the perfection of flattery, pointed out as the Elysian plains, the habitation of the blessed. It would be an intrusion to enter into minute criticism on the merit of the work, in respect either to its plan or to its most prominent details. With no variety and little force of character; with a hero about whose fate we remain perfectly indifferent, if indeed we do not rather wish success to his enemies; with a tone of moral feeling which scarcely ever rises above decent worldliness, and sometimes sinks below it; with a story whose baldness is only relieved by a few episodical tales, which, though exquisitely pathetic, are really excrescences on its design; with all these defects and many more, the Æneid has always charmed, and will always continue to charm, every one who has a heart and fancy for the feeling and imagery of poetry, an ear for its most delightful melody, or an intellect qualified to appreciate the symmetry and perfection of its art.

FOURTH AGE.

FROM THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS TO THAT OF MARCUS AURELIUS: A. U. 767—933; OR A. D. 14—180.

This period is commonly styled the Silver Age of Roman Literature. Reckoned to the death of Marcus Aurelius it endured more than a century and a half, and comprises fifteen reigns. The vicissitudes of learning were even more frequent than the changes of sovereignty, since several emperors patronised letters at one time, and persecuted them at another; but the era in its leading features was inferior both to the Augustan and the last republican age. Its inferiority in style was not its only defect, for taste in poetry and rhetoric was to a considerable degree corrupted nearly at the beginning of it; and there usually existed a check on philosophical and political speculation, which fettered prose writing of every kind.

In poetry this period gives us Marcus Annæus Lucanus, a Spaniard (A. D. 38—65); Valerius Flaccus, who

died young, in the reign of Domitian; Publius Papinius Statius, a Neapolitan (61—96); Caius Silius Italicus (24—99); Aulus Persius Flaccus of Volterra (34—62); Decimus Junius Juvenalis, a native of Aquinum (*ab.* 40—*ab.* 120); the Spaniard Marcus Valerius Martialis (*ab.* 63—*ab.* 103): and the author or authors of the tragedies which go under the name of Seneca. The historians of the time were Caius Velleius Paterculus of Naples (*ab.* B. C. 18—A. D. 31); Valerius Maximus, who was somewhat younger; Caius Cornelius Tacitus, born at Interamna in Umbria (*b. ab.* 57—*d.* in Trajan's reign); Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, a contemporary of Tacitus; Lucius Annæus Florus, who wrote under Trajan; and probably Quintus Curtius, or the author, whoever he was, of the Life of Alexander the Great. The highest philosophical and scientific names of the age are Greek. These commence with Strabo the geographer, who was at Rome in the reign of Tiberius; they include Epictetus, who was the son of a freedman of Nero, and was alive in the time of Hadrian; and Plutarch, who visited Italy towards the end of Vespasian's government, and was not there later than the death of Domitian. At the end of the list of writers who cultivated the Grecian philosophy must also come the name of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who, educated by the celebrated Herodes Atticus, warmly promoted that revival of Greek learning which came to its height soon after his time. The mental science of the Latins is represented by Lucius Annæus Seneca, who was born at Cordova (*ab.* B. C. 1—A. D. 65): and their physics by Caius Plinius Secundus, called the elder Pliny, a native of Verona or Comum (23—79). To these names may be added those of the Spaniard Lucius Junius Columella, a writer on agriculture, and a contemporary of Seneca; Sextus Julius Frontinus, the author of a work on the aqueducts, who flourished in the end of the first and beginning of the second century of our era; and Aulus Cornelius Celsus, whose treatise on medicine is still extant. The jurisprudence of the time was more remarkable for its squabbles than its excellence. In rhetoric, Marcus

Annæus Seneca, the philosopher's father, scarcely deserves mention; but the theory of the art was expounded by Marcus Fabius Quinctilianus, supposed to have been a native of Spain (*b.* 42—alive in 117); and its practice was successfully followed by the younger Pliny, Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus (*b.* 62—*d.* probably 114).

Several of these writers, being of little importance for the purpose now in view, may be dismissed very briefly. In poetry, Virgil was the great model, and his picturesque groups and flowing versification were imitated by many men of letters in the imperial court. At the head of these imitations stands an epic on the Second Punic War, composed by Silius, a noble Roman, of accurate taste and amiable character, who, devoting to literature the evening of a busy life, was praised by Martial and the other hungry poets whom he fed. The poem of Valerius Flaccus on the Argonautic Expedition, is written in the same taste, though far richer in fancy; but its merit rests less with the author than with Apollonius Rhodius, whose plan and much of his materials he borrows. Martial's Fourteen Books of Epigrams, in which he was the first to give to this species of composition that sharpness of turn which characterizes it in modern times, are full of wit, invective, and obscenity; and while they are clearly the productions of one who could have done far better, their chief value is as illustrations (to be used with due allowance) of the manners and the deplorable licentiousness of Rome in the reign of Domitian. The ten tragedies of the pseudo-Seneca would require and reward minute attention in a detailed history of Italian literature; but as they are mere imitations of the Greek, with occasional infusions of the strong Roman spirit, and much of the lazy declamation of the times, it is enough to indicate them as the only existing remains of the nation in a branch of literature in which they never attained to excellence. Among the historians who have been enumerated, the servile Paterculus, the gossiping Valerius, and the epitomist Florus, may be dismissed in the same breath with the credulous and pleasingly rhetorical biographer of

Alexander. The Lives of the Cæsars, by Suetonius, have little literary merit, though great historical value, and are here chiefly to be noticed as the first instance of that rage for personal memoirs, which produced afterwards so many collections of scandalous anecdotes. Quinctilian's Institutions, equally admirable for the soundness of their precepts and criticisms, and for their own high literary excellence, may be allowed to pass with the same hearty praise which is due to the younger Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan, and his interesting, lively, and elegant collection of Letters.

There still remain the most important literary names of the time, Seneca the philosopher and the elder Pliny, the poets Lucan and Statius, Juvenal and Persius, with Tacitus the historian.

Pliny's thirst for knowledge, which expatiated over every department of human inquiry, maintained his mind in ceaseless activity, and finally cost him his life in the great eruption of Vesuvius, was a remarkable phenomenon; but, unaccompanied as it was with creative genius or extensive powers of reasoning, it would not detain us, were it not that his only remaining work seems calculated to illustrate forcibly the general narrowness of intellect brought on by the state of the times. The thirty-seven books of his "Historia Naturalis," an encyclopædia of ancient knowledge in natural history, geography, and art, are the only considerable treatise of the kind which the Latin empire has bequeathed to us. The notices contained in it possess importance from their number and variety, as well as from the fact that very many sources whence the writer drew his information are no longer known; but the whole is heaped together without order or inference, and the most valuable facts, and the shrewdest observations, stand side by side with extravagant caricatures and foolish drivelling.

Seneca, whose tutorship of Nero, and his murder by that wicked prince, are familiar to every one, and whose moral character remains soiled after every attempt to

cleanse it, exercised on his age an influence scarcely less than that which Cicero had on the age preceding. His mode of writing was vicious, rhetorical, antithetical, and forced, but its strong colouring was the very thing which gave it an effect in the eyes of an over-refined and declining generation. His overstrained stoical tenets were as well calculated for his age as for his style. His example, it is likely, precipitated the fall of Roman letters; but in his own days and for some time afterwards, it probably did good rather than harm.

We next approach one of the most interesting phenomena of Latin literature. The tutor of Nero's childhood introduced to the prince's acquaintance his own nephew Lucan, a boy of noble Roman parentage, born in Spain, but educated in the capital from his infancy. When the emperor began to rule, his early companion became one of his cherished friends. The youth was enthusiastically devoted to letters, a firm believer in the haughty doctrines of stoicism, and full of those recollections of perished freedom and greatness, which the deceitful promise of the new reign tempted him, as well as many others, to express. Besides composing some poems which are lost, he gave vent to his melancholy aspirations in his celebrated epic the "Pharsalia." He there depicted the death-struggle of the Roman republic, and avowed that his only consolation for the wretchedness of that fatal period, was the reflection that the fates had appointed it as the necessary prelude to the happiness of the state under the good Nero. The dream of the emperor's youthful virtue speedily vanished; and in the conspiracy of Piso against him, the disappointed poet of liberty took a share. He was put to the torture, sentenced to die, and, his veins being opened, bled to death, repeating, as he expired, verses from his own great work. He died at the age of twenty-seven, when his strong but over-fervid intellect had not reached its maturity.

No literary work has been more severely criticised than the Pharsalia, and certain of the charges against it must be at once admitted. Its plan is inartificial and

wanting in invention, and it is meagre in poetical ornament of every kind; it has much of Seneca's exaggeration, a little of his false antithesis, and very much of his declamatory tediousness; it is indistinct in its grouping and incidents, which are seen as through a mist; it wants variety of passion, and is sadly defective in the delineation of character, its personages, except the three leading ones, being mere shadows, of which each is like the other. In despite of all these heavy faults the poem is one of the grandest in any language; and in some points of view no ancient Latin poem possesses half its interest and importance.

The key-note of this Roman song is the sentiment of moral strength, of which Cato of Utica is the representative. He, and not Cæsar or Pompey, is the hero, although he is not brought sufficiently into the foreground; and the work, which is confessedly incomplete, would conclude with his self-murder instead of reaching to Cæsar's assassination, to which it is carried in the continuation by our republican countryman, Thomas May. Cato stands alone amidst ruins, without hope, but immovably firm: he knows that liberty is lost to Rome, and that her citizens have ceased to love it; he enters into the contest with the feeling of a father at the funeral of his children;* as his task of life draws nearer to its close, his greatness of soul rises into pious serenity; the voice of the godhead, which has always spoken in his heart, calls him forward;† and he hastens to obey and offer the final sacrifice to freedom. But this is not the prevailing religious temper of the poem. The sentiment which emerges when the poet himself speaks of heaven is terrible. He feels as if the gods had abandoned the earth, or grown too weak to govern it; and it is this emotion of despair that gives birth to some of those wild exclamations which, taken by themselves, sound so

* Pharsalia, lib. ii. v. 297—303.
† Ibid. lib. ix. v. 563—584.

extravagant.* There is no sorrow in the tone of thought. Where grief is meant to be expressed the attempt fails; and the poet's state of mind, in looking to his ideal of moral greatness in Cato, and his ideal of freedom in the fallen commonwealth, is that which he has himself so powerfully described as reigning in a household in which lies a fresh corpse,—a chilly feeling in which for a time grief is kept aloof by fear.†

These are the outlines which determine the character of the poem; but among the shades of the poetical colouring, none tends to give the Pharsalia so peculiar an air as the originality of its supernatural machinery. The beautifully cold mythology of Greece has here no place; the supreme powers which hover above the field of civil slaughter are the native divinities and native dead of Rome and Latium. In the beginning of the contest terrible portents in heaven and in earth affright the people; the Etruscan rites elicit no prophetic answer; a raving woman rushes through the streets of the city prophesying uncertain horrors; the ghost of Sylla rises in the field of Mars; and the dead Marius is seen to break open his sepulchre on the banks of the Anio. The atrocities of the Marian civil wars are brought forward in narrative; the oracle of Delphi is consulted and remains dumb; and the last supernatural terrors which close around Pompey are summoned by the spells of a Thessalian witch, whose incantation forms one of the most strongly painted scenes in the circle of poetry. A corpse is taken from the field of battle, and the spirit is forced to re-enter it, and tell what it has seen in the world of death. The tortured ghost has beheld the Decii and the Curii, the patriots of Rome, weeping and wailing, and Marius,

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* Quis justius induit arma,
Scire nefas: magno se judice quisque tuetur.
Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.
Lib. i. v. 126—128.

† Pharsalia, lib. ii. v. 21—28.

Cethegus, and Catiline, bursting their chains and shouting applauses.*

The republican Lucan is succeeded by Statius, the court poet and kneeling flatterer of Domitian. Statius seems to have been a man of amiable dispositions and domestic habits; and we are tempted to excuse that want of public virtue which was common to him with nearly the whole world, and for which the liveliness of his poetical genius makes some atonement. He wrote completely in the taste of his times, with all their rhetorical superabundance and tediousness, and all their display of Greek erudition; and he wrote also with a cautious avoidance of every dangerous topic. His chief work, the "Thebais," an epic poem, in ten books, on the shocking story of the two sons of Œdipus, is by no means his best production, though far the most laboured. It has a want of symmetry and coherence, which, with its long-drawn diffuseness, and its exaggerated monotony of horror and cruelty, makes it more wearisome to read than will be agreeable to any who may wish to criticise it; and altogether it impresses the mind as the work of a man who has thrown away on it much strong feeling, much fine poetical imagery, and a good deal of very picturesque description. The "Sylvæ," five books of miscellaneous poems, chiefly in hexameters, are much superior to the epic; being less tedious, less artificial, and admitting better the kind of ornament which Statius likes to give. His fertile fancy, and his acute eye for the picturesque, find full play in several very pleasing poems of the collection, such as the Epithalamium of Stella, the Sorrentine Villa of Pollius Felix, and the prettily sylvan though somewhat affected verses on the Fountain and Overhanging Tree in the Gardens of Atedius Melior, on the Cælian Mount. The few domestic poems evince extreme goodness of heart, and one of

* "Lucan's only Muses," says the cynical author of the Pursuits of Literature, "were Cæsar, and Brutus, and Cato, and the genius of expiring Rome."

them, the Poet's Invitation to Claudia, his wife, is in some passages affectingly tender.

The picture of the age closes with the satirists Persius and Juvenal, and the historian Tacitus, all of whom we regard here chiefly as painters of life, in which view they require little illustration. The six satires of Persius, scarcely rising above the level of prose, and disfigured by an annoying obscurity, breathe a tone of upright feeling, which, beheld in the age of Nero, is like a sheltered island in a stormy sea; and the moral advice of the writer is conveyed in a quiet and gentle tone, which contrasts strongly with the thundered menaces of Juvenal. The latter, an orator and man of business, who began to write verse in his fortieth year, has given us sixteen satires, forming an image of general depravity on which it is appalling to look, even after all the allowance we can make for overcharged declamation. The tone is invariably unpleasant, alternating from bitter sarcasm to indignant invective; and the poet, with all his force and vehemence, is more strong in exaggerating than successful in painting to the life either action or character. His satires are instructive and most valuable monuments; but they are far from deserving the first rank in the class of writings to which they belong. The dark view of society which is taken by him is fully shared by Tacitus, whose historical merits this is not the place to extol, and whose literary excellence as one of the most vigorous of all moral teachers, and of all painters of character, is universally acknowledged, and calls for no proof. He wrote in a fortunate time, for scarcely any emperor but Trajan could have permitted the publication of such facts and observations as are contained both in his History and in his Annals; and it required some courage even in Trajan to allow such sketches of the abuse of power to be circulated in his dominions. Altogether, the relation in which Tacitus, and one or two similar writers, stood towards the reigning powers, is one of those anomalies which meet us so frequently in the imperial history.

FIFTH AGE.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THAT OF CONSTANTINE: A. U. 933—1059, OR A. D. 180—306.

This period, little shorter than the last, was nearly a blank in the native literature and philosophy of Italy. The only great event in the mental cultivation of the age was the rise of a new philosophical school, that of the Latter Platonists, whose seat was Alexandria. The tenets of this mystical sect acquired their chief importance after the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the state; and the influence which the writings of the Platonists had on the later fathers of the Church, makes it necessary here to name, among the Greeks, Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, his pupil, who was the chief originator of the new opinions, and Porphyrius, whose writings are the text-book of the new Platonic theories. The re-awakening of philosophy among the Greeks did not come alone. Among authors who wrote in their language about this time, and who were more or less intimately connected with Italy or its literature, we find Longinus, Arrian the annalist and philosopher, Diogenes Laertius, Herodian, whose history descends to the reign of the Gordians, and Dio Cassius, a Bithynian, who carried his Roman history, a useful though not impartial work, down to the year 229. Among the same writers, too, must be reckoned the physician Galen, a native of Pergamus, who lived long in Rome.

If none of these Greek names belongs to the first rank, they are yet such as the Latin literature had nothing to match. Among the Roman historians there were Justin, whose epitome is still extant; the antiquary Censorinus, who wrote in the reign of Gordian III.; and those collectors of scandal, the authors of the Augustan History, a series of Imperial Memoirs, from Hadrian to Carinus and Numerianus, which were written by different authors, and, though most curious as striking illustrations of the times, are quite worthless when viewed as

literary compositions. Among philosophers the Italians had Solinus, if that writer deserves the name ; in poetry they had the didactic verses of Medicine, written by Samonicus, who was honoured by Caracalla ; and they had the poem of Nemesianus, a Carthaginian, on Hunting, composed in the time of Carus, or of his sons, as were the eclogues of the Sicilian Calphurnius. Those who doubt the wretched state of Italian literature in the third century of our era, will be convinced by opening the volumes of any of the writers named in the last sentence. The philologist Aulus Gellius, whose amusing "Noctes Atticæ" still remain, is of more value ; but he was not an Italian, nor educated in Italy. The African schools, with those of Gaul, were now the most flourishing in the Western Empire. In the peninsula itself no branch of philosophy or literature prospered, except jurisprudence, to which in this period belong the famous names of Papinian and Ulpian.

CHAPTER IV.

Art in Italy and Sicily before the Conquest of Greece by the Romans.

PERIOD ENDING A. U. 608; OR B. C. 146.

The Connexion of Italian with Grecian Art—Art in the Greco-Italian Colonies. THE INFANCY OF ART IN GREECE AND THE COLONIES (ending about A. U. 294):—The Temples—Existing Monuments of Architecture and Sculpture in Magna Græcia and Sicily—The Selinuntine Marbles. GRECIAN ART AFTER ITS COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT (A. U. 294—608, or B.C. 460—146):—*Painting and Architecture*—Extant Decorative Paintings and Mosaics—The Greek Architectural Orders—Ruins in Magna Græcia and Sicily—*Sculpture in Two Eras*:—I. The Era of Great Names (A. U. 294—454):—Its Two Ages—(1). The Age of Phidias, Polycletus, and Myron—Existing Copies or Imitations of their Works—The Amazons—The Jupiter-busts—The Pallas-statues—The Colossi of the Quirinal Mount —(2). The Age of Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus—The Niobe and her Children—The Fauns—The Cupids—The Venus-statues—The Figures of Hercules—II. The Era of Great Works (A. U. 454—608):—Existing Sculptures of this Time—The Venus and Apollo de' Medici—The Borghese Gladiator—The Farnese Hercules—The Germanicus and Cincinnatus. ART IN ETRURIA AND ROME (till A. U. 608, or B. C. 146):—Recent Elucidations of Etruscan Art—Its Character Grecian—Etruscan Fortresses —Temples—Tombs—Painted Vases—Sculpture and Castings —The She-wolf—The Decline and Revival of Art in Rome.

IN more than one metropolis northward of the Alps we may examine some isolated sections of classical art, but the southern country which those barriers enclose is still the only one in which we can study the whole

magnificent volume. The Roman and Grecian architectural ruins still rise amidst the vineyards of Italian valleys, or on the silent expanse of Italian plains. The galleries of Italian palaces are still thronged with statues, as were the temples on whose fragments they are built; while ancient painting itself, all but lost for ages, has again come to light, and adorns a modern Italian city. To these treasures we must add the numberless reliques which fill the antiquarian cabinets; and we must also recollect, that of the masterpieces which enrich the museums in England, Germany, and France, a very large proportion have been discovered on the soil of Rome, or of her Cisalpine territories.

In ancient Italy art was always an exotic,—a fact which, in reference to the purpose now in view, will demand from us some knowledge of the history and character of Grecian art, as preparatory to our study of its remains in the former country; for unquestionably very many of these were executed in Greece, while a large proportion of the rest are the works of artists thence derived, and almost all of them bear a clear impress of the foreign character. The Greeks, in this department not less gloriously than in others, were the makers of their own fortune; and they shared the possession with their colonies from the shores of Asia to those of Sicily and Magna Græcia. The cultivated domain of literature, philosophy, and art, which their genius thus had won, devolved on Rome like an inheritance, which she, a spendthrift heir, enjoyed but did not augment.

But these were neither the oldest nor the most direct obligations which Italy owed to the Hellenic race; for, long before that people became the subjects of Rome, all the arts of design were naturalized among their colonists in the south of the peninsula and in Sicily. The coins of the Greek cities in these districts show art, in its earlier stages, to have advanced more rapidly there than even in the mother-country. To these older pieces, belonging to Sybaris, Tarentum, Caudonia, and Posidonia, succeed those of Syracuse, Leontium, and

Selinus, and, still later, those of the same cities and of Neapolis, Rhegium, and other towns; all indicating that art in these settlements still kept pace with, if it did not outstrip, the progress of the nation from which its lessons were learned.* In the higher departments, the free municipalities of Lower Italy, and the princes of Sicily, vied with each other in cultivating native genius, and encouraging artists from Ægina and other schools of Greece. Of the pieces of statuary now remaining, which were confessedly the offspring of Grecian art before the Roman conquest, we can in few instances trace the progress to the capital; but there is no doubt that very many splendid works were found by the conquerors in Sicily and Magna Græcia. In architecture, numerous monuments still bear witness to the skill of the Italiot Greeks.

THE INFANCY OF ART IN GREECE AND THE GRECIAN COLONIES: ENDING ABOUT A. U. 294; OR B. C. 460.

The earliest progress of Grecian art, and the much contested questions as to the aid which it received from the oriental nations, must here be left untouched. It is enough to say that, down to the 50th Olympiad, or about the year of Rome 174, it was marked by a rude and formal simplicity. In architecture, the colossal masonry of the Pelasgians gave way to the most ancient and massive form of the Doric order, or to the Ionic, which presented lighter proportions even in its oldest shape. Sculpture was little employed, except in the temple-statues of the divinities, in which the deficiency of skill co-operated with an almost Egyptian reverence for precedents; and the idols of wood and stone were as unadorned and rude as the hoary shrines in whose niches they were placed. The few antique vases, which alone can with any confidence be referred to this early period, exhibit painting in its very infancy.

* Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, by the Society of Dilettanti, vol. i. 1809: Preliminary Dissertation, pp. 24, 36, 37.

With the 50th Olympiad there begins, both in Greece and her colonies, a period of rapid advancement, which in little more than a century placed statuary, painting, and architecture, at the very threshold of perfection. Of this interesting era we possess several splendid monuments, both in architecture and sculpture, which chiefly belong to Sicily and Magna Græcia.

The primitive idea of the Grecian Temple was that of a small chapel (the Cella) with its sacred image; and as its size increased, it did not lose the essential character of the closed mysterious sanctuary. The structure, roofed over, had no windows, and received no light but from the single door at its front, while the portico at this extremity, which originally may have formed the only ornament, not only was, in some instances, repeated at the opposite end, but enlarged itself into an external colonnade to receive the worshippers, and extended to the sides or the whole circuit of the edifice, in a single or double row of columns, forming a covered walk outside the walls. A second colonnade shut in the wide space of consecrated ground around the temple, which stood in the midst, generally elevated on a majestic flight of steps. The cell or body of the fane continued to be a comparatively small building. It was the receptacle of the statue and altar of the divinity, and was accessible to none but the priests; while the worshippers thronged around in the sacred precincts, and beneath the porticos. The cell was sometimes circular, but most frequently an oblong rectangle. Its interior gradually underwent alterations, of which the most marked was the introduction of columns in this part for the purpose of strengthening the roof, and thus permitting a convenient enlargement; and these internal colonnades were frequently united with a plan by which the roof ran only round the building, covering the space between the walls and the internal columns, while an area in the centre was left open to the sky. There was thus formed the species of temple called hypæthral, not unlike

the arrangement of the courts which composed the principal part of a Greek dwelling-house.*

Of the hypæthral cell, with its internal colonnades, we have a fine instance in the majestic temple of Neptune at Pæstum, which also exhibits, in its short crowded columns and gigantic entablature, the most characteristic specimen of that massy form of the older Doric, which was the favourite style among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks.† The desolation of these classical ruins now makes a picture very unlike that which the edifices themselves must have presented to the ancient world, when the statue and the altar, illuminated by gorgeous lamps, decked the cell, when marbles, gilding, and paintings shone on the walls and fretted ceilings, and votive tablets hung thickly in the porticos without.

To this period belong the three Sicilian temples in the citadel of Selinus, which are most worthy of notice for the sculptures on the metopes of their frieze, discovered among the ruins in 1823.‡ Three of the slabs, it is clear, are far more ancient than the rest, and are the only ones belonging to the age now under review. The first represents a naked Hercules carrying off, in a serio-comic posture, the conquered Cercopes. The subject of the second is Perseus killing Medusa, while

* Quatremère de Quincy, however, has propounded a theory which, if admitted, overthrows all our established notions as to the form of the ancient temples. He maintains that none of them, not even the largest, were in any part open to the sky; that Vitruvius, in describing hypæthral temples, speaks of a plan which had never been executed; that the temple of Pæstum was roofed entirely over with bronze, and others with flags of stone or wooden beams. He maintains also that the cells were fully lighted by windows in the roof. Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France; Classe d'Histoire, tom. iii. 1818.

† For Pæstum and the Sicilian Temples, except the recently investigated ruins in the citadel of Selinus, consult Wilkins' Antiquities of Magna Græcia, 1807.

‡ By Mr Harris and Mr Angell. The marbles were seized by the Neapolitan government, and are now in the museum at Palermo. Casts are in the British Museum; and a description was published in 1826, by Mr Angell and Mr Evans. See also the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. p. 144.

Minerva stands by. The third, which is much broken, has a female standing and a male kneeling. The reliefs on these tablets, and the figures which, completely detached from the wall, filled the pediments of the temple of Minerva at Ægina, and were discovered in 1811, rank among the most curious of all contributions to the antiquities of art.* If we were not entitled to presume that the Attic Ægina may have been in advance of the obscure Sicilian colony, both in the theory and the mechanism of art, the difference which exists between the Selinuntine marbles and the Æginetic, both in style and execution, might induce us to suspect that the former were considerably earlier works than the latter. Taken together, the two sets of fragments exhibit sculpture to us as Phidias found it. In the metopes of Selinus, while the lines are firm, and the general contour of the human figure is traced with a tolerable approach to truth, the proportions are ludicrously clumsy, the attitudes are stiff and unvaried, and the expression of all the countenances is a slight and almost silly simper. In the Ægina marbles the expression of all the heads is uniform, but it is that of profound repose; the outlines of the figures are hard, their proportions meagre, and the bones and muscles harshly marked; but the truth of the details astonishes artists, and there breathe through the whole a strength and simplicity which not unworthily announce the approaching excellence of the Parthenon.

ART IN GREECE AND THE GRECIAN COLONIES, FROM ITS COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT TILL THE ROMAN CONQUEST: A. U. 294—608; OR B. C. 460—146.

About the 80th Olympiad (B. C. 460), architecture and sculpture reached their highest excellence among

* The Ægina Marbles, having been restored by Thorwaldsen, are now in the Glyptothek of Munich. Their exact age cannot be easily fixed, but they certainly fall between the 55th and 77th Olympiads.

the Greeks, and the perfection of their painting belongs to the same epoch, or one very little later. From that time till the taking of Corinth by the Romans, in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, Greece encountered many political vicissitudes; but there is little reason to suspect that the disturbances of the country affected the arts to any greater extent than depressing them at one place to raise them at another. None of them, it is true, preserved the transcendent character of the earlier age; and the artists of the Achæan league were distinguished by different qualities from those of the great Macedonian dynasty, as the genius of these again had differed from that which illuminated the times of the Peloponnesian war, and the golden reign of Pericles. But though there was change, there was no degradation; or, if there was, it appeared in architecture only, and even there the deviation from purity of taste was as yet but slight.

Painting and Architecture.

Even after the discoveries of the last century in Campania, it is difficult to seize fully the true character of Grecian painting, as exhibited by its first masters; and it goes for little to be told of the accurate and noble drawing of Polygnotus, of the softer and more imaginative beauty which followed it in the works of the Italian Zeuxis, and his rival Parrhasius of Ephesus, or of the union of high theory with mechanical perfection, which is attributed to the Ionian Apelles and Protogenes of Rhodes, the great painters of the Macedonian times. In the latter ages of the period, after the foundation of Alexander's empire, this art was extensively applied to the internal decoration of buildings, when still-life and architectural drawings became common. The practice of painting on terra-cotta vases, formerly so popular, fell into disuse, or was corrupted; and most of the Apulian specimens, from Canusium, Barium, and other cities, exemplify the artificial mannerism which then prevailed. On the other hand,

Mosaics appeared for the first time at Pergamus; and the celebrated Drinking Doves, which were the subject of an early composition, have been supposed to be preserved in an imitation discovered in the Villa of Hadrian.* A Mosaic lately found, representing one of Alexander's battles, is an example of an animated style, not exactly accordant with Grecian principles; but it is executed with skill, and is very instructive.†

In architecture, between the time of Phidias and the siege of Corinth, much was done of which we possess magnificent remains, and very much that has perished without leaving a shadow. The Doric order, in the hands of the Attic artists, attained a simple majesty of grace perfectly true to its original character. The Ionic, invented by the Asiatic Greeks, and developed by them in the form which has been recognised as the rule of the order, was used by the Athenians as a fit subject on which to exercise their fancy and love of ornate beauty; and about the 85th Olympiad appears the graceful Corinthian column, whose proportions gradually arranged themselves in a light and slender symmetry harmonizing with its style of ornament, in which the Ionic volute became subordinate to rich groups of natural foliage. It is worth while to notice, that in the time of Pericles, the earliest portion of the period now before us, we discover in at least one of the great temples of Greece the keyed arch;‡ an invention which it was difficult to unite harmoniously with the prevailing horizontal lines of the orders,

* Capitoline Museum; Stanza del Vaso, No. 101.

† In the museum of Naples: discovered at Pompeii, in the House of the Faun, 10th October 1831.

‡ See (at sections 107 and 109) the excellent "Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst" (2d edition, Breslau, 1835): by Müller, the celebrated author of "The Dorians." The authorities are, Plutarch, in Pericle, cap. 13, compared with Julius Pollux, ii. 54, and Senec. Epist. 90, assigning to Democritus (who died about the 1st year of the 94th Olympiad) what he calls the invention of the arch and key-stone; though, as the keyed arch unquestionably existed long before in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, Democritus in all likelihood only borrowed it.

and which, borrowed probably from Italy, the Romans soon received back. The architecture of Greece, when thus perfected, was applied in every conceivable shape. In the free days of the nation, she and her colonies erected fortifications, theatres, odea, stadia, and temples ; and her Macedonian conquerors employed her artists in constructing princely palaces, tombs, and even cities, like those of Alexandria and Antioch. Of edifices not within our proper limits, it will be enough, from the first and purest stage of this period, to call to mind the magnificent group of temples at Athens.

In Sicily the example was eagerly followed. The great temple at Agrigentum belongs to this period ; some of those at Selinus do so likewise, as well as that of Ægeste. In Magna Græcia all the ruins of Pæstum, excepting the temple of Neptune, may be traced to the same age, though several of them scarcely do justice to its spirit ; and to it also may be referred a few less important remains in the same region. Both there and in Sicily the Doric order was invariably used, and the two others are nowhere to be seen, except on coins belonging to those colonies. Domestic architecture attained elegance in Sicily much earlier than in the mother-country.*

Sculpture.

Grecian sculpture, as it appeared from the time of Phidias till the Roman conquest, requires more minute illustration ; and it may be convenient to divide the period into two eras. The first of these reaches from the 80th to the 120th Olympiad ; and, in a duration of about a century and a half, includes two successive ages of art, both adorned by very celebrated names. The second era, of about the same length, from the 120th Olympiad to the 158th, though it furnishes fewer great masters than the former, has bequeathed to us works of the highest excellence.

* Stieglitz, Archäologie der Baukunst der Griechen und Römer, vol. i. : Historical Introduction.

I. In the first section of the earlier period five artists must be named,—Phidias, Polycletus, Myron, Pythagoras, and Calamis. All of these had some points in common, and in particular the freedom with which they treated their subjects as compared even with their immediate predecessors. That strange union of accurate drawing with stiffness of attitude and design, and other similar contradictions, which are to be observed in so many statues of the age preceding Phidias, have been explained by the best critics, as arising from a designed adherence to older models, the sacred and patriarchal idols of the shrines for which these more modern works were destined. In the Phidian age itself this hieratic style was discarded, even in the simple figures; and freedom of manner was furthered and perfected by the increased demand which that age made for statues and reliefs, as ornaments for unconsecrated buildings. In the time of Pericles, or very soon after it, art was completely secularized; for, without being banished from the temples, it was introduced into every public place, and into many private dwellings. For the sacred edifices the artists had to frame images of the gods, and reliefs of mythic legends; for the agoræ, theatres, and porticos, there were similar reliefs or statues, and other statues representing statesmen or athletæ; and for the gratification of individual taste or vanity, there were ideal or portrait statues, with reliefs and groups from mythological stories; while the introduction of sculpture into private mansions became, in the following age, yet more common, and added to its former subjects copies of the celebrated works produced in the era immediately under our notice. While the artists of the generation of Pericles were guided by a minute study of the human frame, for which the national costume, modes of life, and public spectacles, afforded them remarkable opportunities, the highest among them differed not less in their favourite subjects, than in their mode of treating them; and their characteristics exercised a strong influence on art in all succeeding times.

Confessedly at the head of sculpture in his age stood the Athenian Phidias, and the Attic school over which he presided. We can scarcely presume that he had quitted the studio of his master Ageladas before the commencement of the 80th Olympiad. Besides giving attention to painting and architecture, he embraced statuary in all its branches, including even the antique but already neglected art of carving on wood. His more usual employments, however, were, sculpture in marble, which had not yet become the favourite material for statues,—the working in metal, both by casting and chasing (the latter being in fact the celebrated Toreutic art of the ancients),—and the union of all these modes of procedure in the construction of the Chryselephantine statues, which were compositions of gold and ivory, with other substances, usually gigantic in size and gorgeously decorated.* The number of works attributed to this great sculptor, several of which were colossal, is as incredible as the number ascribed to Raffaelle; unless, indeed, we suppose the ancient artist, as well as the modern, to have given his name to productions which he only designed, and allowed his scholars to execute. In all his works which were considered successful, the subjects are such as call for majesty of conception rather than beauty. His Olympic Jupiter, and his Minerva Parthenos for the Acropolis of Athens, both colossal statues, were the embodied images of that mythic grandeur which reigned in the Homeric heaven. Polycletus, an artist of Sicyon, and a fellow-pupil of Phidias, led the way in an opposite path of art, and found many more imitators. He did not reach the sublimity of his rival in the representation of divinity; but his works displayed a completeness of finish, an exactness of proportions, and an ideal beauty, which he delighted in applying to the execution of human, and

* The explanation of the Chryselephantine works is the immediate purpose, though far from occupying the whole discussion, of Quatremère de Quincy's splendid work, Le Jupiter Olympien; Paris, 1815, folio.

especially of youthful figures. Myron of Eleutheræ, who also studied under Ageladas, resembled Polycletus in his choice of subjects, and was celebrated for his truth to nature, and a perfect imitation of life, without high feeling or individuality of character. Both Polycletus and Myron executed several celebrated statues of Athletæ, as did Pythagoras of Rhegium, who deserves notice here as the greatest sculptor of Magna Græcia. Calamis, the last named of the five great artists of the time, who was perhaps an Athenian, appears to have been rather older than the others, and is charged with betraying more of the antique stiffness than they. To him are ascribed a list of perished works which indicate a love for the devotional and elevated, and amongst others an Apollo Protector, erected in the agora of Athens, and supposed by some, with little reason, to have been the prototype, or even the original, of the Apollo Belvedere.*

With the exception of architectural sculptures, no original works of those great masters are known to exist. But several antique statues are recognised as being copies, or, which is more likely, free imitations, either of their inventions, or of those executed by other less famous statuaries belonging to the same age. The Amazon of Polycletus was publicly adjudged superior to those of Phidias, Ctesilaus, and several inferior sculptors. The beautiful Amazon of the Vatican, a figure in the act of springing forward,† with its repeti-

* Giambattista Visconti: Il Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. i. p. 27; tav. 14, 15; 1782: but compare his son's remarks in the Musée Français, Article "L'Apollon du Belvedere."

† Müller's explanation (Handbuch, § 417-2). The statue is in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Galleria delle Statue, No. 18: engraved in the Musée Français. There is a copy in the Capitol, and several elsewhere.—In this and other references to the museums of the Vatican and Capitol, the present places of the several antiques, and the numbers affixed to them, have been verified by a consultation of the only full catalogues of those galleries which have yet been published. These are contained in the 2d and 3d volumes of the German Guide-book to the City of Rome (Beschreibung der Stadt Rom), commenced in 1830 under the editorship of M. Bunsen, and written by that distinguished scholar, by Gerhard, Platner, Röstell, and other German antiquaries. The

tions, are also regarded as copies or imitations either of the statue of Phidias, or of that of Polycletus;* and the wounded Amazon of the Capitol,† preserves the idea of the work of Ctesilaus. Myron's Hercules, and his equally celebrated Cow, have perished; but several excellent imitations have given us his Discobolus, a bent figure of great truth and merit.‡ The conception of the Jupiter-head invented by Phidias may undoubtedly be traced in those noble busts, of which several are extant, with the clear powerful forehead, on each side of which the hair falls backwards like a lion's mane; the deep, large, majestic eyes; the placid, finely formed lips, and the full beard descending on the muscular breast.§ The Phidian Minerva has scarcely bequeathed us any thing so good; but there are several statues which retain the leading idea, with many accessories of the figure, and three at least may be said to belong to the age of the sculptor himself, and to preserve very much, indeed, of the grave and dignified beauty which was his characteristic.|| On the brow of the Quirinal

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formidable bulk of this learned work disqualifies it for serving as a popular manual; but it is almost faultless as a text-book for the systematic student of classical antiquities.

* Of Phidias: Müller, *ut supra;* Thiersch, in his Epochen der bildenden Kunst unter den Griechen; 2d edition, Munich, 1829.—Of Polycletus: Gerhard, in the Beschreibung, vol. ii. part 2, p. 168.

† Capitoline Museum, great hall, No. 9. A copy, ill-restored, in the Louvre, No. 281 (Clarac's Catalogue, 1830).

‡ Among other copies that of the Vatican; Museo Pio-Clementino, Sala della Biga, No. 10; and another, perhaps the best extant, in the British Museum; Room x. No. 41; (Catalogue of 1832); engraved in the Dilettanti Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, vol. i. plate 29.

§ In the Vatican, the grand colossal bust from Otricoli, Mus. Pio-Clem. Sala Rotonda, No. 3, engraved in the Musée Français, and in the Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. vi. tav. i. (1792). Another in the Florentine Gallery.

|| The colossal Pallas of Velletri, now in the Louvre, No. 310; engraved in the Musée Français. The Giustiniani Minerva of the Vatican, Mus. Belvedere, Braccio Nuovo, No. 23. The colossal Minerva of Mr Hope's Collection, engraved in the Specimens, vol. ii. No. 9. A duplicate of Mr Hope's statue is in the Museo Borbonico of Naples: Marble statues, No. 125; (Catalogue of 1831.)

in Rome still stand two colossal and singularly striking figures in marble, each reining in a horse. They give to the hill its modern name of Monte Cavallo, and bear respectively on their pedestals, in Latin characters, the names of Phidias and Praxiteles. Antiquaries entertain very discordant opinions regarding them; but artists are almost unanimous in declaring them to be copies (one of them excellent) of Greek works in the style of the times to which those mighty masters belong.

Till within the last quarter of a century, the students of ancient art were compelled to glean their knowledge of the Phidian age from these and a few other antiques, none of them rising above the rank of copies or imitations. But with the removal of the Elgin Marbles to England, and their public exhibition in the British Museum, there opens a new era for our acquaintance with ancient statuary. The most important of these monuments are the admirable sculptures of the Parthenon, consisting of (1.) the reliefs of the metopes, or slabs which, separated by triglyphs, ran along the frieze of the peristyle, or external colonnade; (2.) the uninterrupted series of reliefs which adorned the frieze of the cella; and (3.) the statues of heroic size, completely disengaged from the walls, which filled the tympana, or triangular spaces of the pediments at both ends of the temple. The two sets of reliefs are unequal; but their design, as well as the superintendence of their execution, undoubtedly belong to Phidias; and the lofty beauty of the statues of the pediments, authorizes us to assign to him a more immediate share in their production. The study of these wonderful reliques is essential, as a preparative, to the due appreciation of those later pieces of sculpture, which, till the exhibition of the Elgin Marbles, formed the highest specimens of ancient art. The Phigalcian Marbles, discovered in 1812, and also transferred to the British Museum, are palpably modelled after the metopes of the Parthenon; but though inferior, both in conception and execution, they are works of high excellence, and prove the immediate influence

which the school of Phidias exercised on the rest of Greece, as some of the recently found metopes of Selinus exhibit its influence on the Sicilian colonies.

As to the mechanical department, statuary may be considered as having then reached its height; and while bronze, and the various complex compositions of which that or similar materials formed a part, continued to be the favourites, marble became gradually more common, though for a long time it was not frequent enough to allow us to look for many existing specimens except in architectural ornaments. The application of sculpture, however, became every day more extended; and with the swift rise of the Macedonian monarchy there began a system of patronage, perhaps exceeding in its amount that which had been enjoyed in the days of Pericles. The munificence of Philip and Alexander gave birth to that school of art which was marked for us as occupying the second age in the period ending with the 120th Olympiad. The great names of the time are Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, of whose works we have some traces, with Leochares and Euphranor, whose character we must take on trust. Scopas and Praxiteles, with Leochares, may be considered as the successors, in spirit as well as in locality, of their countryman Phidias; while Lysippus and Euphranor in like manner followed the path opened by Polycletus, whose birthplace Sicyon was also that of Lysippus.

With decisive differences of character, Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had common tendencies. In the style and execution of their works it would be unreasonable to expect the continuance of that broad, massive, severe classicism which marked the newly emancipated age of Phidias; and it would be hopeless to look for a preservation of the grand and simple spirit of invention and arrangement, which had distinguished that master individually from other sculptors of his time. The members of the new Sicyonic, as well as those of the new Attic school, inspired art with a greater softness of design as well as of

execution, and, departing from the negative indication of general forms, they for the first time introduced individual character. But the great feature of their works may be said to have been beauty,—a beauty which, borrowing its outward form from the most careful study of nature, was yet the representative of internal loveliness and repose of soul,—a beauty which, while it wanted the sublimity of the oldest races of the gods, still breathed the air of Olympus,—a beauty which had in it more of the expression of human feeling than elder art had allowed, but was too loftily ideal to exhibit the energy of passion.

Scopas may without hesitation be described as approaching nearest to the spirit of Phidias. We read of his works as embracing subjects from the legends of Venus and Eros, from those of Bacchus and the Mænads, and a magnificent group of Neptune with other sea-divinities and Achilles, which afterwards stood in the Circus Flaminius at Rome. We do not possess any trace of these masterpieces, unless we conclude that, as is more than probable, the character exhibited by some of the later representations of Bacchus and his Mænad-nymphs is founded in that of his figures. His Apollo, however, in the character of the Lyre-player, which Augustus set up in his temple of Apollo Actiacus on the Palatine, is in all likelihood substantially preserved in the fine statue of the Vatican, in a long flowing dress, almost feminine.*

The temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome possessed a group of Niobe and her Children, which the ancients passionately admired, doubting, however, whether it were the work of Scopas or of Praxiteles.† On the assumption that the leading figures of the celebrated family of

* Mus. Pio-Clem. Sala delle Muse, No. 17. Found with the statues of the Muses (now in the same hall) in the villa of Cassius at Tivoli. But both Ennio Quirino Visconti and his father suppose the statue a copy of the Apollo which was erected with the Muses of Philiscus in the Portico of Octavia, and was the production of Timarchides, an artist who seems to have flourished a short time before the Roman conquest. Il Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. i. p. 30, tav. 16, and Musée Français.

† Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. 4.

Niobe, which was, in 1583, found at Rome near the gate San Giovanni, and is now in the Florentine gallery, convey to us the character of the classical group commemorated by Pliny, modern critics are inclined to attribute the original to Scopas. Of these sixteen statues, six at least, it is quite manifest, do not in any way belong to the story; and the opinion is all but universal, that even those which are really parts of the series are only copies or imitations of the work so celebrated in antiquity. Among the figures which may certainly be regarded as connected with it, we have the mother clasping the youngest daughter to her breast, and looking up to heaven; a dead son lying on the ground; a son who has fallen on his right knee; an older son in flight with his mantle wrapt round the left arm; a wounded daughter; a young boy in flight; another older son in the attitude of the fleeing youth first mentioned; a daughter in flight; and finally, the Pædagogus. To these, on the strength of Thorwaldsen's opinion, we may add a statue of the Florentine gallery usually called a Narcissus, a kneeling youth, whose left hand presses a wound on his back.* The figures now enumerated are of very unequal execution. The daughter on the mother's left, and the dead son, are admirable, being indeed only second to the group of the mother and the youngest daughter. In this sublime composition, the heroic grandeur and energetic life of the elder figure, and the fixed air of agony which animates the beauty of its countenance, are perhaps the most exquisite things which Grecian art has

* See Müller, Handbuch, § 126: Thiersch, Epochen, p. 368, &c. Of several figures there are good repetitions. The dead son is both at Dresden and Munich. There are several antique busts of the mother, one of which, wonderfully grand, is in Lord Yarborough's Collection: (Engraved in the Dilettanti Specimens, vol. i. plates 35, 36, 37). The fleeing daughter is repeated in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti, No. 174); and the son fallen on his knee is in the Capitoline Museum (Galleria, No. 40). A fragment of a group in the Vatican (Mus. Pio-Clem. Galleria delle Statue, No. 40), representing a female figure sunk down and supported by a male, has also been supposed a Niobide group. The Niobide statues are illustrated by the well-designed reliefs of a sarcophagus in the Vatican (Mus. Pio-Clem. Galleria de' Candelabri, No. 36).

bequeathed us, and the most characteristic production of that highest age, which united in perfection life with repose, the intensity of feeling with the purest sense of the beautiful.

Ancient writers mention numerous works of Praxiteles, chiefly, like those of Scopas, in marble; and they describe several of them with a minuteness which enables us to point out some existing antiques as being at any rate coincident with his inventions in subject. A few of these statues are at once so beautiful and so characteristic, that it is not rash to go a step farther, and pronounce them to belong to the many productions which, in some cases close copies and in others imitations of the elder masters, were brought forward to gratify the luxury and taste of the later Greek period or the earlier times of Imperial Rome.

The most celebrated works of Praxiteles belonged to the Dionysiac mythology, to the legends of Venus, or to those of Apollo. In all of them he delighted to represent a tender and expressive loveliness, which in the Bacchic scenes partook of the wild enthusiasm of the mysteries, while his Venus and his Amor finely united with their human beauty the dignity of godhead; and his Apollo, youthful or even boyish, was still the divinity of the temple. Of all these classes of works, we possess in the galleries of Italy at least hints and recollections. In the Dionysiac figures, besides forming that youthful conception of the character of Bacchus which appears in all subsequent statues, Praxiteles is also believed to have invented the poetical figure of the Satyr or Faun, discarding the older monstrous shapes, and retaining little of the animal lineaments except the pleasingly characteristic features and the air of wild playfulness. His Athenian Satyr, it is generally admitted, has been imitated in the figure of the boyish Satyr with the Flute, leaning on the trunk of a tree, which occurs in several repetitions of excellent design.*

* In the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 93; found at Circeii. In the Capitoline Museum, Galleria, No. 12.

Of the Apollo Slaying the Lizard there are also several imitations possessing much natural grace.* In the Vatican is a youthful Cupid, one of the best works of antiquity, in imperfect preservation, but equally admirable for its skill of execution and for the force and originality of its expression, which is that of a tender, pining, almost sorrowful, beauty. There are strong reasons for believing that this fine torso is an imitation of a Praxitelean statue, either his Eros of Parion or that of Thespiæ.†

But by far the most famous productions of this master were his statues of Venus, especially the undraped one of Cnidos. This celebrated figure is minutely described by Lucian, and is represented on the coins of the island; and it is, in the first place, quite clear, that the Venus de' Medici is neither this work nor any copy of it. The coins and the description farther allow us with much probability to fix on two existing specimens as copies or close imitations of the Cnidian Venus; and these display such unlikeness of character to the Medicean, as to aid the certainty of the conclusion which refers to a later age than that of Praxiteles, the statue in which "the goddess loves in stone." Of these two copies one, not of first-rate merit, is in the Vatican, the other has passed from the Braschi palace in Rome to the Royal Gallery of Munich.‡ We cannot, however, fairly appreciate the changes of character which the Venus underwent in the hands of the statuaries, unless we begin with the specimen lately discovered at Melos.§ This admirable work is conceived and executed in the boldest and purest style of ancient art; and both the broadness of the manner, the

* In the Villa Borghese of Rome: a bronze in the Roman Villa Albani: in the Vatican: in the gallery of Florence; and elsewhere.

† Mus. Pio-Clem. Galleria delle Statue, No. 2. The museum of Naples possesses a much more entire duplicate: Statues, No. 312.

‡ Mus. Pio-Clem. Galleria delle Statue, No. 38. Glyptothek of Munich, No. 135 (Schorn's Catalogue of 1833). The Munich statue is slightly given in the twenty-second plate to Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture.

§ Louvre, No. 232: discovered in 1820, in the amphitheatre of the Greek island of Milo (Melos): heroic size.

fidelity to nature, and the blended loveliness and majesty of the figure, make it far the nearest in character to the Phidian age of all the Venus-statues which remain. If we pass from the partially draped Venus Victrix of Melos to the Cnidian Venus of Munich, we shall remark, in the complete unclothing of the figure practised here by Praxiteles, as by Scopas on another occasion, the first steps in that secularization of art which at length made it the handmaid of luxury or sensuality; but the nudity in this case is excused by the accessories, and the character of the Cnidian statue is even higher and purer than that of the Venus de' Medici. Its face and figure are scarcely less beautiful than those of the Florentine statue, but both are nobler, and the head more ideal, while the attitude has more of female dignity and less of female softness. The execution is exquisite; and, if we must hold the statue of the Vatican to be a copy at second-hand, we are under no necessity of having recourse to this supposition in regard to the other.

Lysippus, who had the sole privilege of representing Alexander the Great in statuary, as Apelles had in painting, and Pyrgoteles in seal-engraving, was celebrated for improvements in some details of art, for his careful study of nature, and for his introduction of a lightness and slenderness of proportion, which gave to his figures an imposing appearance of height. His works were greatly admired at Rome, and are the subjects of several anecdotes. His athlete-statue, called the *Apoxyomenos*, was placed by Agrippa at the gate of his baths; but Tiberius carried it off to the palace, on which the people at the theatre with one voice called for its restitution, and it was restored. His Alexander as a child was gilded by Nero, and destroyed in the attempt to remove the coating of metal.* His numerous works, the subjects of which had much of an heroic character, were cast in bronze, and we neither possess any original statue of his, nor probably the immediate imitation of any.

* Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. 19.

His portraits of Alexander, however, are the originals of those heads, some of them fine ones, which preserve the features of the Macedonian exalted into ideality by an admixture of the Jove-like hair and form.* The statues of Hercules by Lysippus enjoyed great celebrity; and one of them, the Colossus of Tarentum, was removed by Fabius Maximus to the Capitol of Rome, whence it passed to Constantinople. Earlier artists, some of whose works remain, had partially fixed the leading characteristics of the Hercules figure,—the strong proportions of the limbs, and the lion-like shape of the head, borrowed from the Jupiter. But under Lysippus the forms assumed both a Titanic massiveness of parts and a vigorous majesty of expression unknown before. The Farnese Hercules of the Neapolitan museum cannot be considered as a close copy from him, and must belong to a time considerably later; but the character of the hero, as he represented it, may be assumed as generally imitated in the Farnese statue, and the expressive grandeur of the head is given with yet bolder proportions, in a colossal marble bust found at the foot of Mount Vesuvius.†

II. In a few years after the death of Alexander we lose all traces of the great names that embellished his reign, and enter on the long period which extends from about the 120th Olympiad to the taking of Corinth. During the greater part of this time art was lavishly patronised by the princes among whom the Macedonian empire was partitioned; and when some of these dynasties had decayed, the loss was far more than compensated by the temporary revival of freedom under the Achæan League, the last effort of Greek independence.

* A fine colossal bust in the Capitol (Room of the Gladiator, No. 13), engraved by Winckelmann in the Monumenti Inediti, No. 175: a statue of the king arming himself, formerly in the Rondanini palace in Rome, now at Munich (Glyptothek, No. 152): a small equestrian statue found at Pompeii, in the museum at Naples (Gallery of Bronzes, No. 83). The head of the dying Alexander in the Ducal Gallery at Florence. (?)

† British Museum, Room II. No. 19: engraved in Combe's Marbles of the British Museum, Part i. No. 11.

In sculpture those times were astonishingly fruitful and most singularly successful. Without anticipating the dissent which will hereafter be entered to a theory representing this age as the last period of high art, a few facts regarding it are, on any assumption, quite certain. There is sufficient evidence of very remarkable varieties in the spirit of statuary after Alexander; but, on the whole, it was characterized in its best works by a tone of greater softness and refinement, by a more careful study of anatomy, and by a greater energy of expression, than the schools which had preceded it. The subjects were in many cases original inventions; in others the artist was a mere copyist of statues, groups, or reliefs, already celebrated; and in many other instances he studied some earlier figure of excellence, made himself master of its leading character, and exercised his own genius in executing a work on the same subject, which should retain something of the older model, united with original features, proportions, or expression.

The Venus de' Medici, which now adorns the Florentine gallery, and once graced the imperial villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, is an example of this last kind. Its author, Cleomenes of Athens, has engraved his name on the pedestal, and it may be inferred that his age fell within a century and a half of the time of Praxiteles, and certainly not later than the 145th Olympiad.* Between the reign of Alexander and the entire fall of Greece innumerable figures of the goddess were executed, for temples, for other public places, or for private dwellings, and forming either single statues, or groups with Eros, Mars, and other divinities. An immense number of such works have been found both in Greece and Italy, very many of them below criticism, many more of considerable merit, and a few of very high excellence indeed,

* Thiersch, Epochen, p. 288, &c. Müller, however (Handbuch, § 160), adopting with some strictness Pliny's notion of a decay of art about Ol. 120, followed by a revival just before the Roman conquest, places the Venus a little later, but still before the taking of Corinth.

among which, by universal consent, the Medicean Venus occupies the first rank. This exquisite statue is known to every one. It is not a repetition of the figure which has been already mentioned as identified with the Cnidian masterpiece of Praxiteles. Its attitude is considerably different, and its air has more of a shrinking timid grace, which corresponds well with the delicate proportions of the figure. The lovely countenance has smaller and more finely cut but less ideal features, and the style and execution display a high finish as well as a minute observation of anatomical particulars, which contrast especially with the broader manner of the noble statue of Milo. Of the numerous antiques which, like the Venus de' Medici, represent the goddess leaving the bath, and which partake of the same expression, the best is that of the Capitol,*—a figure less ideal and less delicately youthful than the Florentine one, but remarkable for its close adherence to nature in form, and for its masterly execution, especially in the imitation of the flesh.

In the Tribune of the Florentine gallery, which contains the Venus, is a beautiful figure of a boyish Apollo, called the Apollino, leaning on the trunk of a tree, and crossing his right arm above his head. This statue, equally admirable for its beauty of form and for its graceful air of repose, has much of the character of the Venus, and may be properly compared with it in a review of the age to which that work is referred.

Other qualities of art at this time are illustrated by the statue, commonly though wrongly, called the Fighting Gladiator, which, like the other chief ornaments of the Borghese gallery, is now in Paris.† This celebrated statue, whose artist, Agasias of Ephesus, has inscribed his name on the trunk which supports the figure, represents a soldier on foot, who defends himself against an

* Capitoline Museum, Stanza del Gladiatore Moribondo, No. 9. Found in Rome, in a house beside the Suburra, where it had probably been placed in one of the baths.

† Louvre, No. 262 : found early in the 17th century, among the ruins of the imperial palace at Antium.

assailant placed higher than he, probably a horseman. In point of expression, it forms a marked contrast to the Discobolus of Myron, already cited; and in execution it exhibits an equally remarkable departure from the broad massive manner displayed in another Discobolus. This other* is a figure in repose, upright, and holding the discus in his hand; and, clearly belonging to an early but high stage of art, it has been presumed an imitation of a celebrated bronze by Naucydes of Argos, who was a little younger than Polycletus, and perhaps his scholar. This Discobolus of Naucydes is excellent for its proportions and its breadth of style.

The Borghese Gladiator is most minute in its development of muscles and other details, and this minuteness, admirably true, is united with great force of general effect; but when we look to its expression, the statue of Myron, which was peculiarly admired for its character of life, seems coldness itself beside the newer work. The moment selected is the very crisis of the fight; the figure of the warrior is thrown violently forward, and turns to the left, while his face looks upward in the opposite direction; the shield is held up, and the right arm drawn back for a thrust. Every thing denotes a strained and desperate exertion; the veins are swollen, the muscles in severe tension, and remarkably developed; and the countenance, in its fixed eyes and parted lips, is full of eager and breathless watchfulness.

In leaving this age of Grecian sculpture, it is sufficient, besides referring to the Farnese Hercules, which probably belongs to it, to mention two other specimens. The portrait-statue which has been improperly named Germanicus, the production of a Cleomenes, the son of another Cleomenes (perhaps the artist of the Venus), is a work of excellent proportions and execution, but little ideality and less expression; and the so-called Cincinnatus or Jason, a bending figure of a man tying his

* In the Vatican, Mus. Pio-Clem. Sala della Biga, No. 8: found by Gavin Hamilton on the Appian Way.

sandal, has proportions which seem to indicate that the statue is a portrait, while the air and attitude have induced antiquaries rather to refer it to some ancient heroic fable.*

We have now traced the fine arts of Greece down to the point at which they merge in those of Rome, and before proceeding farther, we must look back on their progress in the Latin city and her nearest Italian provinces, down to the same epoch; remarking, meanwhile, that the Greek colonies both in Sicily and in Magna Græcia, which the Romans subdued before they carried their arms beyond the Adriatic, had recently begun to sink in art as well as in commerce and political strength.

ART IN ETRURIA AND ROME BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF GREECE.

PERIOD ENDING B. C. 146;—OR A. U. 608.

Till the Romans came into immediate contact with the Greeks, first in Lower Italy, and then in the mother-country, they derived their art, in all its branches, almost entirely from the Etruscans. The history of architecture, painting, and sculpture, among this people, which was long a riddle unsolved in all its parts, has lately been studied in a more intelligent spirit, and with the aid of more instructive monuments. The conclusions which have been reached by the antiquaries of the present age, are on many points yet involved in the old doubts and contradictions; while several of the most important subjects of inquiry are not only deficient in general interest, but would demand a very minute investigation, if they

* The Germanicus (Louvre, No. 712), is supposed by Clarac to represent Marius Gratidianus (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 9; lib. xxxiv. cap. 6); and by Thiersch to represent Flamininus, the conqueror of Greece. In either view, the statue forms, so to speak, the link between the Greek and the Greco-Roman sculpture.—The Jason is in the Louvre, No. 710. It derives this name from Winckelmann (lib. vi. cap. 6), and has singularly heavy limbs, with a small head (perhaps not the original), and an energetic but undefined expression. Both statues came from the Villa Montalto or Negroni in Rome, where they stood in the gardens of Sextus the Fifth.

were to be discussed at all. A few facts, however, denied, unknown, or very imperfectly apprehended, even by such writers as Winckelmann and Lanzi, may now be considered as quite ascertained. In particular, the theory which claimed high originality for the Etruscans, denying or extenuating their obligations to the Greeks, is completely overthrown; and in painting and statuary the defeat is signal. There are, indeed, many traces and some undoubted monuments of an early species of art peculiar to their province; but this indigenous style disappears before it has emerged from rudeness; and in every stage, which claims any regard on its own merits, art in Etruria is to be held strictly as a branch of Grecian art, and was perhaps exclusively practised by artists of that country. It was in this Greco-Etrurian school that the Romans learned the few lessons which they condescended to receive; but, after the conquest, art was for a time stationary, and then retrograde, except perhaps in architecture; and even this pursuit made few advances till the conquerors revived it in a new form, along with sculpture and painting.

The most ancient and remarkable of the architectural works of the Etruscans, the fortifications of their towns and citadels, will invite our notice again amidst some of their magnificent ruins, where they exhibit a character which it is generally very difficult to discriminate from that of the Pelasgic walls. But, passing from this obscure question, our attention is next drawn, though only in ancient description, and without existing monuments, to a style of sacred architecture which the people of Etruria taught to the Romans, and which they themselves had undeniably learned from Greece. The Tuscan or Etruscan order is in principle identical with the Doric; and, indeed, according to the most probable theory of its origin, it is nothing else than the oldest form of the latter, received by the Italian tribe from its inventors before its rules were fully developed.* The Etruscans

* Stieglitz, part i. section 4. vol. i. pp. 140, '50.

gave lighter proportions to the columns, placed them on bases, made them support a less heavy entablature, disposed them at wider intervals, and altered the forms of some of the component parts both of these members and of those which they sustained; and the temples, to which the colonnades thus composed communicated their character, received also modifications in the ground-plan as well as in the internal arrangements, to suit the purposes of the national ritual. This style was the earliest in the Roman places of worship; the Capitoline temple of the Tarquins was a specimen of it; and that of Ceres, near the Circus Maximus, dedicated in the year of the city 261, was taken by Vitruvius as the model of the order.

The sepulchral architecture of the Etruscans preserved, even after they had ceased to exist as a nation, much more of original character. The most remarkable of its remains, which are chiefly subterranean, may be easily reduced to a few classes. Most of those, for instance, in the Necropolis of Vulci, on Lucien Bonaparte's estate called Canino, are chambers or suites of chambers, excavated in the soft rock, entered by descending galleries or staircases, and without any erection rising above the ground. Others, like those of Tarquinii, near Corneto, are in the interior similar to the tombs of Vulci, but are covered by larger or smaller mounds of earth. We have an example of a third class in that huge sepulchre or collection of sepulchres at Vulci, which the peasants call the Cocumella; being a cluster of excavated chambers, over which is piled one immense tumulus, more than 200 feet in diameter, and composed externally of heaped soil, but having internally considerable masses of stonework. A fourth kind are hewn in the perpendicular sides of cliffs, like those in the forest of Bomarzo, and have either plain entrances or ornamental façades, some of which form complete Doric fronts, with volutes and other decorations foreign to the order.* In the few

* See Müller, Handbuch, sect. 170; and consult Micali's work and its plates.

which were raised above ground, and composed entirely of masonry, the favourite form seems to have been that of a conical tower, which in some cases contained the sepulchral chambers; while in others, as in the structure called the Tomb of the Horatii at Albano, it was only an embellishment, and rose from a quadrilateral building, in which the body was laid.

From those ancient burial-cities we derive most of the knowledge we possess as to the other arts of Etruria. A few painted walls had been early discovered and described, and sepulchral urns, with some other kinds of monuments, have long been accessible in different museums; but the discoveries of the last few years have been beyond all comparison rich, and on one estate (that of Canino), as many vases have been dug up in one year as had been placed in all the cabinets of Italy during the preceding century.* The Necropolis of Vulci has as yet been by far the most fertile in antiques, some of which have been carried to Berlin, while several thousand vases, besides similar monuments, are still possessed by the owner of the lands, and a few have been found by other proprietors. Tarquinii has furnished comparatively a small proportion, its sepulchres having been apparently ransacked. Agylla or Cære, now the picturesque and dirty little town of Cervetri, has not been examined with so much attention as its ancient fame deserves; but a good many painted vases, and other utensils of terra-cotta, with some very richly ornamented tombs, have been discovered in its Necropolis. At Chiusi, the ancient Clusium,

* The discoveries in Etruria are most fully detailed in the *Annali* and *Bullettino* of the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, a society established at Rome in 1829, under the direction of Germans. The most minute and valuable account which has yet appeared in English, is contained in a paper by Mr Millingen, already cited, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii.; 1834. Mr Millingen's interesting communication brings its narrative no farther down than 1829; and for more recent discoveries, none of which, however, possess the importance of the early ones, reference must be had to the transactions first above named. Consult also Sir William Gell's Topography of Rome and its Vicinity, vol. i. article "Etruria."

Porsena's city, many similar remains of early art have been excavated.

With the exception of the Clusian vases, almost every painting which has been lately discovered, whether on such vessels or on the walls of tombs, is decidedly Grecian. The subjects, embracing mythology, religion, and funeral-ceremonies, symbolical groups, and scenes from ordinary life, have evidently the same origin; the vases resemble, in every essential particular, those of Sicily and Magna Græcia, to the best of which many of them are quite equal both in design and in execution; and the names of potters and painters, which, by a peculiarity not previously detected, are inscribed on most of the Vulcian vases, are without exception Greek, many of them Attic, and all written in Greek characters. If there could be a doubt as to the origin of the Etruscan vases, it would be removed by a comparison with those of Chiusi, most of which, both designed and executed in an inferior style, are quite different from the Vulcian, and even the clay of which they are formed is coarser; while besides this, some specimens found in Vulci and elsewhere, and exactly resembling the Clusian ones, have Etruscan inscriptions, though the Clusian have none.* The vases, which we thus recognise as Grecian, exhibit specimens of art in all its stages, from the rudest of the archaic or hieratic paintings to the finest design and finish of the Macedonian times, or, at latest, to the age immediately preceding the Roman conquest. The only material question regarding these monuments which can be considered as still unsettled is, whether they were moulded and painted in Etruria, or merely imported from abroad as articles of commerce.

The light which these interesting discoveries throw on the painting of the Etruscans, is reflected on their sculpture and its kindred processes; and hence the similarity to the Greek style, both in their bronzes and their terra-

* The Clusian vases are chiefly in the Grand Duke's gallery at Florence.

cottas, is at once explained. But here, as in architecture, the immediate application of art to religious uses preserves a greater independence both in the subjects and in their treatment; and the energy and harsh proportions, sometimes reaching the height of caricature, which are not infrequent in the sepulchral paintings, are much oftener to be traced in the bronze and terra-cotta figures. As examples, it may be enough to cite the Chimæra of Arezzo and the Aruspex or Orator, both bronzes,* and the renowned She-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, a bronze of the Capitol, a work whose stiff accuracy and strong expression make it an excellent specimen of the time when the Etruscans were most successful in art; because, if it is not the group which was struck by lightning at Cæsar's death, it is probably that which was dedicated in the year of the city 458, and stood beside the Ruminal fig-tree.† Of the Etruscan skill in chasing, we have farther examples in numerous candelabra, pateræ (mystic mirrors?), and other utensils of the temples and sepulchres. Terra-cotta was the favourite material, for in the best days of the nation sculpture in stone was little practised, and the few specimens of it which exist belong almost without exception to the period when art began to decline among them.

This decline soon followed the conquest of the province by the Romans, and there is sufficient evidence to show that it was attended by a corresponding depression among the conquerors. It has been always known, that, down to their connexion with Greece, the works of art in all its branches which existed in Rome proceeded from the hands of Etruscans. But we may now think more highly than we could have done before the recent discoveries, of the buildings and statues which were so executed from the reign of Tarquin to the final conquest of Etruria; whilst we must also believe, that

* In the Gabinetto dei Bronzi Antichi of the Ducal Gallery of Florence.

† Dionys. Halic. lib. i. cap. 79.—Liv. lib. x. cap. 23.

after the latter event, the Romans, like their new subjects, relapsed into a comparative rudeness, which, for centuries, was interrupted by no improvement that deserves notice. The victorious people condescended to borrow from the conquered their sacred architecture, their roads and bridges; but in all beyond this they refused instruction. In the court of the early Roman's house, his ancestors were represented by rude waxen images, and the gods in the temples had figures of terra-cotta. The waxen portraits were in time transferred to shields, and at last a few bronze statues of popular statesmen appeared in the forum.* When, after the Samnite wars, Rome extended her conquests into Magna Græcia, the stern spirit of the nation was softened by degrees; and the spoils of the enemy, always in part devoted to the temples, were applied to the erection of sacred statues, which none but the artists from the subdued towns were found capable of executing worthily. So early as the year 459 of their era, a colossal statue of Jupiter stood on the Capitol; and the taste for art spread with rapidity, till it was permanently rooted by the conquest of Sicily, and raised to a passion by the wars in Greece and Asia.

* The earliest, the statue of Hermodorus, about A.U. 304. The other instances, down to A.U. 448, are collected by Hirt, Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten; Berlin, 1833, pp. 271, 272.

CHAPTER V.

Art in Italy from the Conquest of Greece till the Accession of Constantine.

A. U. 608—1059 : OR B. C. 146—A. D. 306.

The Fate of Grecian Art under the Romans. ROMAN ARCHITECTURE—Gradual Innovations on the Greek Style—Eminent Architects—Illustrations from Existing Ruins in Rome—Tombs—Domestic Architecture—Its Rules Illustrated—A Heathen Dwelling-house and Christian Monastery. ROMAN PAINTING—Vases and Wall-paintings—Herculaneum and Pompeii—Frescoes—Mosaics. ROMAN SCULPTURE—*Its History till the Times of the Antonines :* (A. U. 608—933, or B. C. 146—A. D. 180):—The Stages of its Progress—Illustrative Specimens—The Apollo Belvedere—The Laocoon—The Antinous-statues—The Torso Belvedere—The Pallas-statues—The Diana—*The Subjects of Sculpture during the same Period*—Selection of Classified Specimens—Roman and Greek Portraits—Mythological Subjects—The Twelve Gods—Venus-statues—Apollo-groups—The Bacchic Legends—The Ariadne—The Dancing Faun—The Barberini Faun—The Fable of Eros—The Borghese Centaur—The Heroic Legends—The Meleager—The Farnese Bull—The Portland and Medicean Vases—The Iliac Table—Menelaus as Pasquin—Doubtful Subjects—The Pætus and Arria—The Papirius—The Dying Gladiator—*The Imitative Styles*—The Archaic—The Egyptian—*Sculpture after the Antonines :* (A. U. 933—1059, or A. D. 180—306):—Its Monuments—Chiefly Reliefs on Sarcophagi—Symbols—Love and Psyche — Ariadne — Endymion — The Genius of Mortality — Orientalism. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ART IN ITALY AND SICILY—Architecture—Painting and Sculpture.

THE capture of Corinth presents the first remarkable instance of the Roman system of universal plunder.

Statues and pictures were removed from Greece in thousands; and when the subjugation of that country and its colonies was confirmed, the artists were employed to work for their new masters, while the treasures of art already accumulated seem to have been still unexhausted by all the robberies of consuls and emperors. Architecture was prosecuted with equal zeal, but not quite so exclusively by Greeks.

In the best times of the empire Italy, but more particularly Rome and some favourite spots in its neighbourhood, presented a scene of such magnificence as no other age or region has ever paralleled. Within and around piles of building, whose massive grandeur seemed the product of more than human skill, there were thronged, besides many inferior ornaments, statues and paintings which peopled the imperial city with the legends of those antique times, whose poetry was religion. Of this unequalled pomp the whole peninsula even at this day abounds with fragments.

But it is not easy to trace, step by step, the history of Roman art after the lessons received from the Greeks. One or two important facts, however, are quite fixed; and, in the first place, it is certain that it can, in none of its branches, be traced in any degree of excellence farther down than the time of the Antonines. If we assume the reign of Marcus Aurelius as the last age in which it emulated in any degree its ancient glory, the duration of high art among the Romans, commencing with the siege of Corinth, will extend to three centuries and a quarter. During the whole of this period, we may consider their architecture, though subjected to many changes of taste, as quite worthy of a great nation. Painting we must admit to have decayed, almost from the commencement of the period, and never to have regained eminence. The history of sculpture is not so well ascertained. It has been asserted by some, that its fate was exactly similar to that of painting; an opinion originating with Winckelmann, who has the distinguished merit of having first systematized the antiquities of classical art. But a philo-

sophical discoverer is often like one who carries the lamp in exploring a mine, and who, from his position, is unable to see objects which the light he holds up makes plain to others. Perhaps no antiquary of the present day asserts, to its full extent, the doctrine of the great archæologist; and in our own country, the weight of authority decidedly inclines to that opinion which ascribes to the Roman age of sculpture a farther development of the art, and considers many masterpieces as works of that time.*

* Winckelmann, in his great work, the Storia delle Arti del Disegno presso gli Antichi, refers (besides antiques whose dates are admitted) the so-called Dying Gladiator to the interval between Phidias and Alexander the Great, and the Laocoon to the age of Alexander. To the period between that king's reign and the taking of Corinth, he gives the Farnese Bull, the Torso of the Belvedere, and, with a little hesitation, the Belvedere Apollo. But his hypothesis goes farther in its consequences; for, founding chiefly on the Grecian subjects and style, which he was the first to recognise in the ancient sculptures of Italy, he virtually refuses to assign to the Roman times any work belonging to a high class of art. In Germany, his system is still substantially held by Meyer, Hirt, and Müller. The opposite theory, which was first propounded in that country by Thiersch, has been, with some modifications, adopted and illustrated by Gerhard, and is vehemently combated. But Thiersch's theory, however excellently stated, is less original than it appears; and to students of art among ourselves it probably will not seem at all startling. It is true that no English writer has both stated the elements of such a doctrine, and applied them to a classification of ancient monuments; but in criticisms on particular works of art, almost all our good connoisseurs have been inclined to bring the dates very far down indeed; and the æsthetical principles which have been lately inculcated in England, may fairly be regarded as having anticipated, or perhaps suggested, Thiersch's view. If we adopt from Fuseli (Tenth Lecture on Painting, Works by Knowles, vol. ii. p. 381-386), the chronological classification of works of art into three styles, the Essential, the Characteristic, the Ideal, we shall find it impossible to believe that the last step was reached till long after the conquest of Greece; and indeed, from the examples which that author gives, he seems himself to have fully admitted this consequence. Flaxman, again, without laying down any broad principle, is quite unequivocal in his critical opinion and his instances. "After this time, however," the close of Pliny's list of artists, "the Laocoon, and some of the finest groups and statues, seem to have been executed. Nor can we believe, from the admirable busts and statues of the imperial families, that sculpture began to lose its graces till the reign of the Antonines."—(Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture, 1829, Lecture III.) "Grecian

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.

The Romans had already adopted the general forms of the Greek architecture; and it is tolerably clear that they exerted little originality of invention till the times of the Cæsars. But Augustus had scarcely ascended the throne, when the first steps were taken in the formation of that mixed style which characterized the most remarkable fabrics in Rome. The rules of the Grecian architects were still recognised as the canon of taste; and in sacred buildings they were not for some time violated unless in particulars of internal arrangement, which appear to have depended on the ritual of the temple-services, and to have become fixed before the imported system was fully understood. These changes chiefly affected structures of the Tuscan order; but in no long time, the three foreign orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, all but superseded the other style, and were used from or before the time of Augustus, according to precepts drawn from the edifices and writings of the Greeks. The Roman or Composite, which appears for the first time in the Arch of Titus, is a mixture, in the capital and some other members, of the Ionic with the Corinthian, united with even lighter proportions than those of the latter. It does not seem, and certainly does not deserve, to have been ever cultivated so far as to form the groundwork of a new architectural school.

The characteristic style of the Romans was fashioned on different principles. It was used in those unconsecrated buildings in which religious precedents had no force, and vastness of dimensions was the primary requisite. For the people, whom the emperors feared and wished to please, and in a less degree for the adorn-

genius continued its admirable productions under the Roman emperors. The fine groups of Menelaus and Patroclus, Hæmon and Antigone, Pætus and Arria, Orestes and Electra, the Toro Farnese, and the Laocoon, were executed between the latest years of the Roman republic and the times of the last Cæsars."—(Flaxman, Lecture VII.)

ment of the city, were designed the baths, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, and some other fabrics more practically useful. The amphitheatres, and similar edifices, demanded an extent both of ground-plan and elevation, which the structures of the Greeks had never reached, and their architecture was ill calculated to admit. The keyed arch was introduced for strength; and the distinguishing feature of the Roman style was the union of the arch with the Grecian orders. This combination has been censured as a deviation from purity of taste; but it seems to have truly originated in the peculiar nature of the demands made on the art; and for a time the arch was not allowed to become a prominent part of the edifice, being used only in the internal construction, while in the external fronts appeared the Grecian columns and entablature.

Of the architects who effected these changes, we know next to nothing. Some of them appear to have been Italians of the native races; such as the celebrated Vitruvius, born at Formiæ; Cocceius Auctus, who by the command of Agrippa excavated the hill of Pausilypus, near Naples; Celer and Severus, the architects of Nero's Golden House; and Rabirius, who built Domitian's Palatine Palace. Apollodorus, who erected the grand Forum of Trajan, and was executed by Hadrian for criticising the temple of Venus and Rome, was a Syrian, born at Damascus. To Detrianus are attributed Hadrian's Tomb and the Bridge in front of it.

In Rome itself we may trace most of the changes in the national style. We see the pure Greek, probably belonging to the last days of the republic, in the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca; and in the Pantheon we have a splendid example of the richest form of that school, or rather of a form in which the multiplicity and variety of parts overstep the limits of Grecian art, but where the principle of the orders is not infringed except in the arches of the internal recesses. In the Theatres and Amphitheatres the elements of the new architecture are fully developed. Sometimes choosing plains for

the sites, in opposition to the rule followed by their teachers, the Romans had to rear stupendous masses of masonry in order to gain the huge dimensions required. Here the arch was in its proper place, and vaults rose above vaults in magnificent galleries, forming the body of the fabric, which was masked outside by Grecian colonnades. The Circus, an extensive enclosed space, borrowed from the Stadium and used by the Italians from the earliest times for races and other games, furnished, though in a less degree, opportunity for the same kind of building as the amphitheatre. In the Triumphal Arch, the same principles exhibit themselves in another shape. The arch becomes not only the essence of the building but its most prominent feature. Square pillars support it, and it again sustains the entablature; but the Greek columns are not wanting. They stand out before the pillars as excrescences, which bear no part of the erection; and their uselessness is exposed rather than concealed by the statues which are placed on them. In the earliest triumphal arch, that of Titus, the character just described is not quite reached; but in that of Septimius Severus it is, and the example is faithfully followed in the construction of the Arch of Constantine. The art, if it was to retain any principle of the Grecian, had only one step more to take, that of bringing the column into immediate contact with the arch, and resting the latter directly on the former, —a style which became common after the reign of Titus. The Triumphal Column was a far nobler idea than the arch, and in that of Trajan the architecture leaves little room to wish for improvement, either in design or in execution, although, if such structures are critically analyzed, they must always suggest the notion of something incomplete or fragmentary. In the three huge vaults of the Basilica of Constantine, or Temple of Peace, we see the remains of a building on whose character it is not easy to pronounce, but in which, at whatever time it may have been erected, the essence of the Greek style appears to be entirely lost.

The Romans, who had perhaps borrowed the idea of their gigantic triumphal columns from the diminutive pillars of the Grecian graves, preferred in their own sepulchral architecture the massive Etruscan piles, to which, however, they generally adapted the parts and ornaments of the several orders. The plain surrounding Rome is covered with the ruins of huge towers erected as places of burial; and the internal arrangements of the grave-chambers, with their small niches for urns, or their long recesses for sarcophagi, are illustrated by some of these, and by the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii.

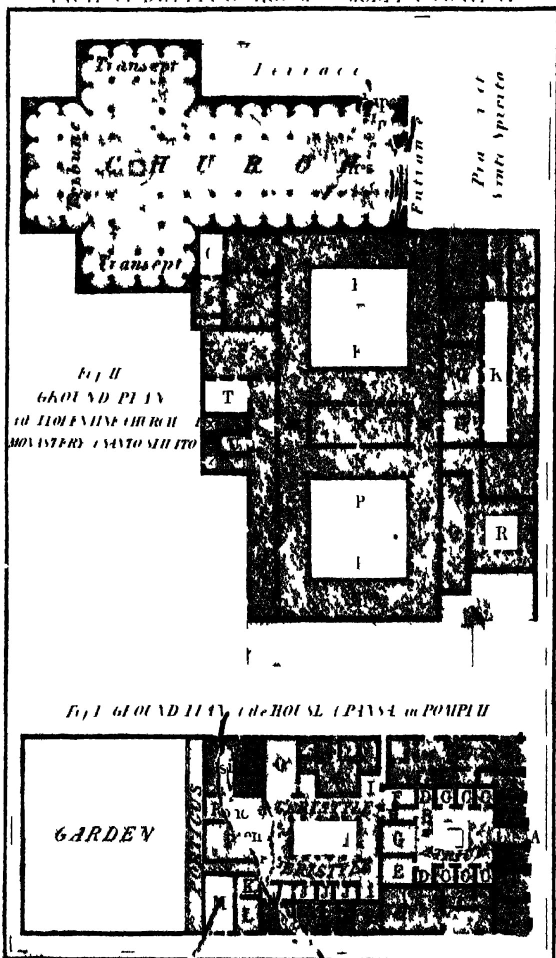
To this little town of Campania, likewise, we owe all our knowledge as to the domestic architecture of ancient Italy. Some of the more perfect remains enable us to identify the most important parts of a Roman dwelling of the middle class. The exact construction of a huge house in the capital, of the kind which was called an insula, partitioned out among numerous poor families, and rising to the utmost height allowed, we possess no means of determining; and we have scarcely better materials for describing an imperial palace or villa.

The Roman houses resembled the Grecian in the smallness and inconvenience of the private chambers as compared with the public apartments, to which the habits of both nations gave so much importance. They agreed also in the want of external ornament, which in the capital was, for a time at least, enforced by law; the richness of decoration being reserved for the interior. The plan also of these habitations resembled the Grecian in those inner courts, partly open to the sky, which formed the central portions, and from which the smaller rooms branched out. But the semi-feudalism of the Italian customs introduced a material alteration in the interior of their dwellings. In a Greek house, one had only to cross a short vestibule in order to reach the peristyle or colonnaded court, which was the central point of the habitation; and although the women's apartments were shut off from the rest, this was the only division in the mansion, and the whole seemed

intended for the reception of none but friends and equals. The Romans, on the other hand, whose women were not confined, did not assign to them exclusively one portion of their houses; but they divided their dwellings strictly into a public and a private part, in the former of which the owner received his clients and other dependents, who had no right to penetrate into his domestic retirement. The public quarter was reached immediately on passing the vestibule; and it consisted (with occasionally some smaller apartments contiguous) of an Atrium or Cavædium. This was a court, roofed over, except a space in the midst, which contained a reservoir (impluvium) for the rain from the eaves, or the water of a fountain. The atrium in its simplest shape, called the Tuscan, had no columns, and its roof was merely composed of four beams crossing each other, the quadrilateral space between their intersections being left open to the sky; but in other cases pillars were added, forming, if they were more than four, the Corinthian atrium, which differed little from the peristyle. In this court the powerful Roman transacted business; and a closed door or curtain, sometimes with the intervention of a Tablinum or charter-room, separated it from the private part of the dwelling. In this latter portion there was usually one Peristyle as in the Greek houses, but sometimes more; and in the best mansions a portico, at the retired side of the building, skirted a garden, which, though always diminutive, seems to have admitted of being made very beautiful, with its narrow walks, its vases of flowers, its trellised plants supported on stone pillars as at Naples in the present day, and its seats of masonry placed beside fountains, and beneath an arbour or awning.

The piling of one story above another may be considered as having been almost wholly confined to houses of the lower class. Aristocratic residences covered large spaces of ground, and seldom rose higher than one floor. The Cœnacula, or upper chambers, used as eating rooms, in which the Christians so frequently met, in the apos-

ANCIENT DWELLING HOUSE & MODERN CONVENT



tolic age, as well as afterwards,* were a late invention, and do not appear to have been ever built in mansions above the middle rank. When they were added in dwellings of the common plan, they were usually placed in the front portion of the building, above the atrium, which in that case was completely covered over. But in no houses, and least of all in those belonging to the first class of society, were the different portions uniform in height, or covered by one roof. A mansion of considerable size, indeed, presented from without, or in a bird's eye view, a very curious scene. The external fronts to the streets were dead walls, pierced, if at all, by only a very few windows or loopholes, situated far up, and admitting light without presenting any prospect. The atrium, and the chambers surrounding it, might be nearly of the same elevation; but in all other quarters of the edifice, the height of each apartment was separately determined by rules drawn from its other dimensions.† The dwelling, therefore, as seen from any higher ground, exhibited a straggling and irregular mass of buildings, with flattish roofs; and the mean habitations which, let to persons of the lower ranks, composed part of the cluster, towered above all the rest. The atrium, peristyle, and garden, formed, in different quarters, openings which could be overlooked from the flat roofs:‡ while these were in many places disposed in terraces like those modern ones still so common in the neighbourhood of Naples, and were like them converted by vines and other creeping plants into covered walks and bowers.

The annexed plate will illustrate not only the leading arrangements of an ancient dwelling-house, but the first and principal stages of the influence which these have exercised on the architecture of modern Italy. Figure I. is a ground-plan of the house wrongly called

* Mark, xiv. 15. Acts, xx. 8. Fleury, Mœurs des Chrétiens, tit. xiii.

† Stieglitz, Archäologie der Baukunst, part ii. sect. 13.

‡ Plauti Miles Gloriosus, act ii.

that of Pansa, which is the most regular of the private residences disinterred at Pompeii, although several others have a greater variety of parts. Figure II. is a similar plan of the admired Church and Augustin Monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence, which, designed by the celebrated architect, Brunelleschi, about the middle of the fifteenth century, was completed before the end of the sixteenth. From the monastery to the modern *palazzo* is a step much shorter than from the ancient Roman dwelling to the monastery of the middle ages.*

The House of Pansa covers an area of about 300 feet by 100, surrounded by streets on all its sides. The chief entrance is by the door A, flanked with pilasters, and introducing us by a short vestibule into the Atrium, which is Tuscan, paved with marble, and has in its centre the usual basin, beyond which, at B, is a pedestal for the altar of the household gods. The small apartments C, C, C, on each side of the court, may have been guest-chambers, store-closets, or work-rooms for the female slaves; and D, D, are recesses with stone seats. We shall form a very gorgeous scene if we figure this hall and its chambers in their original condition, with landscapes and historical pieces painted on their walls; while mosaics, gilding, and marbles decorated the floors, walls, and roofs; and statues, flower-vases, fountains, and classical furniture, alternated to complete the picture.†

We now quit the public quarter of the dwelling. Leaving on our left the room E, and on our right the diminutive closet F, in which there is still a bedstead, we proceed either through the tablinum G or the narrow passage H, into the large and handsome Peristyle, which

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* The house of Pansa is figured and described in the work of Mazois, and in all the recent English publications on Pompeii. The outline of the other figure is taken from plate 75 of the Architecture Toscane (par Grandjean de Montigny et Famin, Paris, 1815).—In both of our figures the spaces open to the sky are left white. The plan of the church will aid us a little when we come to the basilican architecture.

† See the splendid restoration, in plate 36 of Sir William Gell's Pompeiana, First Series, 1819.

is adorned by a colonnade, and a basin in the central space. The two recesses I, I, beside one of which is a private door to the street, are similar to those at D, and were exedræ, the usual scenes of the afternoon slumber. The sleeping-rooms of the family were J, J; K was the kitchen, which still possesses its stoves, while its scullery L has dwarf walls as stands for the oil jars and cooking utensils: and beyond these is a small court M communicating by a door with the side street. The room N is generally supposed to have been a lararium, or chapel for the images of the household divinities; O is believed to be an eating-room (triclinium) or saloon (œcus); and P, a spacious apartment raised two steps above the floor of the peristyle, and opening into the portico by a large window at its farther end, is undoubtedly another banqueting-hall. Either through P, or by the passage Q, we reach a covered portico of two stories, about which parasitical plants have once been trained. It communicates with the small bedchamber or cabinet R; and through its pillars the Roman looked out on his garden, a rectangular area of about 100 feet by 85, at present a total wreck, but still showing a ruined reservoir in one corner. We have now surveyed those several compartments of the building which composed the residence of the proprietor, excepting the upper rooms, which are all destroyed, but which certainly covered some at least of the apartments on the ground floor.

The remainder of the edifice, represented in those parts of the figure which are distinguished by the darker of the two shades, and are marked with numerals instead of letters, was disconnected, partially or entirely, from the owner's mansion. A small separate dwelling-house 1, in which four female skeletons were found, communicates with the apartment O, and may have been either leased out, or used as a hospitium or lodging for visiters: the shops 2 and 3, opening into the adjoining rooms of the interior, admitted of being occupied by the master of the house, probably, according to the modern Italian fashion, for selling the wine and oil produced

on his lands. All the other external compartments appear to have been quite separated from the principal habitation. The suites of chambers' 4, 4, were distinct dwelling-houses, probably possessed by tenants; 5, 6, 7, and 8, embrace together complete accommodation for a baker's trade, including in their order a wood-cellar, a bakehouse (with its oven, furnaces, tables, troughs, and three handmills), a store-closet, and a shop open to that street in which is the principal front of the mansion; and 9, 10, compose a smaller baking establishment. The apartments 11 and 12 are shops, in which, as also in 3, are staircases, formerly leading to upper rooms, probably the dwellings of the tradesmen; and 13, 14, and 15, are small shops of one story, which, like almost all those in Pompeii, have only three side-walls, the front being quite open as in the modern Italian shops, which are closed at night by wide folding-doors, like those of an English coach-house.

The Coenobite Monasteries, like that in Figure II., bear in some particulars less resemblance to the ancient houses, than is exhibited by those belonging to the Carthusian and other Eremite fraternities. But the building here represented is at once a celebrated specimen of architecture, and a good illustration of the point which it is intended to explain.

From a side-chapel of the splendid church, a very fine vestibule A, lined with columns, and erected by Andrea Sansovino, introduces us into the octagonal sacristy B, built, as well as its inner room b, by that architect's master, Cronaca. The same passage opens at one end into a small uncovered court C, and at the other into the monastery, which has two principal cloisters. The First Cloister D, D, planned by Parigi, is a covered arcade, enclosing a large paved court E, open to the sky, and having a fountain in the midst. The portico communicates, at the side nearest the sacristy, with an oratory F, and at the other with the wing G, G, which contains the apartments assigned to the menials of the establishment, for their lodging and the performance of

their duties. This quarter may be entered from the square in front of the church by a private door leading into the vestibule H; beyond which, and by the uncovered court K, the wing is divided into two ranges, till it reaches its terminating point in L, the refectory of the lay brothers. The first cloister, touching the church on its third side, is shut in on the fourth by an oblong building of two stories, of which the ground floor M is the refectory of the monks. The covered passages mm at the ends of this edifice conduct us into the Second Cloister N, N, which was commenced in 1564 by the famous Ammanati. The portico of this handsome court is formed by a Doric colonnade, whose entablature is broken by three arches on each of its four sides; and P, the area in the midst, is laid out in grass-plots, surrounding a fountain and pond. At one side of this cloister is Q, the refectory of the novices, opening into R, a small uncovered court enclosed by a roofed portico with columns. At the opposite side is the long private corridor S, S, leading to the open court T and the great staircase U, by which we ascend to the upper floor of the building M. This floor, not unlike in situation to the ancient coenacula, contains a gallery, along which are disposed the cells of the monks.

ROMAN PAINTING.

In Greece the masterpieces of the great artists in this department were easel pictures; and both vase-painting and painting on walls, were regarded as subordinate branches of the art, or mechanical applications of it. In Rome, the latter alone, in which two natives, Fabius Pictor and Pacuvius, had excelled, was ever in favour. From the time of Augustus downwards, the art indeed was chiefly valued in a form which was just that of modern house-painting; but to which, thus occupying the highest place in the scale, a dexterity was applied that has left admirable specimens.

On many vases of Greece and Italy, on the walls of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and of some ruins on the Pala-

tine and Esquiline Mounts, and also in a few tombs in Rome, Etruria, and elsewhere, have been preserved such examples as leave us indeed doubtful in regard to the precise height of excellence which called forth the admiration of antiquity, but yet enable us to pronounce with some confidence on the leading characteristics of this path of ancient art. It had much of the character of sculpture. In those historical pieces which were its highest efforts, the groups were simple, all placed in the foreground, and might have formed the subject of a bas-relief. When backgrounds were introduced, they were ill-executed, the linear-perspective being nowhere accurately observed, and the aërial perspective almost entirely neglected. The objects are exhibited in a clear broad light, with no attempt at those opposed masses of brightness and shadow to which some modern schools owe so much. The relief of single figures, however, is often wonderful, especially when they are painted on dark grounds, like the celebrated Female Dancers; the drawing is often very fine, and, where defective, is skilfully disguised by shaded outlines; and for grace and expression, many of the paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were no more than furniture pictures of two small country towns, are quite surprising, even after we have allowed for the delicate taste of the nation and the popularity of this particular branch of art.

It would be useless to enumerate even the best of those historical, mythological, or poetical compositions, which contribute to make up the list of about 1600 ancient pictures, now in the Royal Museum at Naples. The subjects are, almost without exception, from the Greek mythology and traditions. The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the Parting of Achilles and Briseis, are perhaps the most admirable of the series; while some Bacchic subjects, especially the Female Dancers, and the Fauns balancing on ropes, are almost equally excellent in design; and the adventures of Hercules, Ariadne, and Endymion, with other mythic legends, furnish many very beautiful groups. Landscapes are rather numerous, but not very

successful, as might have been inferred from the character of the art. They generally include buildings, and thus approach to the style called Scenographia, which consisted of architectural designs or perspective views, somewhat after the fashion of the ornaments which we see on the outside of the modern Genoese palaces. In the Augustan age, this artificial style became quite fanciful, and formed itself into the Arabesque or Grotesque manner, which Vitruvius so bitterly condemns, and the moderns so warmly admire. Of this latter, introduced in Rome by the painter Ludius, of whose architectural landscapes Pliny gives a lively description, we have many fine specimens in the Neapolitan collection, taken both from the interior of houses and from the garden-walls.

Without dwelling on the processes of the ancient art, now lost, on which, particularly the Encaustic method, so much has been said, it may be enough to mention, that in no case do either the Greeks or Romans appear to have painted in oils, even in their pictures on wood or canvass; and that in painting on the plaster of the walls, they certainly used not only water-colour, or distemper, in the ordinary way, but also the fresco process, of which some Pompeian pieces exhibit visible traces. Mosaics are likewise not uncommon; and although the greater proportion of those found in Campania are coarse, and only well-adapted for their purpose, as floors to entrance-halls and the like, yet some are singularly good.

In leaving the history of the pictorial art, it may be well to mention the last great master whose name has been preserved. This was Aetion, who lived in the reign of Hadrian, and whose picture of the wedding of Alexander with Roxana, so lavishly commended by Lucian, is recalled by the subject, though certainly neither copied nor even imitated in the design, of the curious ancient painting called the Aldobrandine Marriage.*

* In the Vatican; lately in the Appartamento Borgia, third room: but understood to have been removed in the summer of 1838. Discovered about the end of the sixteenth century on the wall of an ancient chamber near the arch of Gallienus.

ROMAN SCULPTURE.

THE HISTORY OF SCULPTURE TO THE TIMES OF THE ANTONINES: A.U. 608—933, OR B.C. 146—A.D. 180.

We have not many names of artists belonging to this period, and cannot, in any instance but one, peremptorily assign existing works to persons mentioned as famous in their own times. Most of those whose names have been preserved came from Attica. The earliest of them, however, Pasiteles, who flourished in the last century of the republic, was a native of Magna Græcia, and worked both in the toreutic art and in bronze castings, attaining a distinguished reputation as a skilful modeller. This merit belonged in even a higher degree to Arcesilaus, who was likewise a worker in bronze, and constructed in that material the statue of Venus Genitrix, in Julius Cæsar's Forum. We know little as to the sculptors of the Augustan age; but in Nero's reign we find the name of Xenodorus, whose colossal figure of that emperor evinced a decay in the mechanical art of casting in metal, which was either the cause, or more probably the effect, of the preference the Romans gave to marble. To the time of Titus we may safely refer the three Rhodians, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, the artists of the Laocoon; and it is proper to close the list with these names, since of the statuaries who executed Hadrian's splendid designs we know almost nothing.

It is enough simply to allude to the practice of sculpture in gems, and to the manufacture of medals and coins, both of which departments attained, under the emperors, a very high degree of excellence. If the best of their medals, and the few exquisite cameos, are excelled by any Grecian works, it is only by a very few belonging to the Macedonian times.

The opposing theories as to the merits of statuary in the Roman age having been already stated, we may venture to assume, as substantially correct, the opinion which assigns to that period a farther development of Grecian art.

The progressive changes of sculpture exhibited themselves in the Subject, the Expression, and those pervading characteristics which are embraced under the somewhat vague term "Style." Its revolutions in all these particulars in the Roman period, and its dissimilarity to the earlier art of Greece, may be illustrated by a very few works of the first class, which can with confidence be set down as executed in the imperial times.

To the age of Nero belongs the Apollo Belvedere, whose Roman origin has long been generally admitted.* The reign of Titus gives us the Laocoon, whose date is fixed by a passage in Pliny, too long overlooked.† From the time of Hadrian, we have the portraits of the unfortunate Antinous, in all their numerous repetitions and variations.‡

The Apollo, a statue of the heroic size, represents the god in the moment when he has shot the arrow to destroy the monster Python, or the giant Tityus; or according to another opinion, highly poetical and attractive, it exhibits him in that scene of Æschylus, in which he rescues Orestes and expels the Furies from the sanctuary of Delphi. The victorious divinity is in the act of stepping forward. The left arm, which seems to have held the bow, is outstretched, and the head is turned in

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* In the Vatican; Mus. Pio-Clem. Cortile di Belvedere, No. 96. Discovered, about the end of the fifteenth century, among the ruins of Nero's favourite villa at Antium.

† In the Vatican; Mus. Pio-Clem. Cortile di Belvedere, No. 78. Discovered in 1506 on the Esquiline, beside the ruins called the Sette Sale. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. The passage, like too many others in Pliny, is not absolutely unequivocal; but violence must be done to the text, before it can be understood as any thing else than a direct assertion, that the three Rhodian artists executed the group expressly for the palace of Titus, and consequently during his reign. See Gerhard and Thiersch. "The style of this work, as well as the manner in which Pliny introduces it in his history, gives us reason to believe it was not ancient in his time."—Flaxman, Lecture III.

‡ A celebrated portrait-statue in the Capitol, Stanza del Gladiatore, No. 6; another in the Museum at Naples, Statues, No. 392; a very fine Bacchus-bust in the same collection, Bronzes, No. 46; and others innumerable.

the same direction; but the poise of the body is rather the opposite way. The whole is full of life and animation, and both in attitude and proportion the graceful majesty of the statue is unsurpassed. The effect is completed by the countenance, where, on the perfection of youthful godlike beauty, there dwells the consciousness of triumphant power. The excitement of anger has just passed from the eyes, but has left the trace of scorn curling the lips, gently inflating the nostrils, and elevating the head and bust, and the whole glorious figure.

The Laocoon presents to us the famous scene from the Trojan war, described by Virgil; although, as one of the most acute of modern critics has convincingly shown, the sculptor, directed by the principles and limits of his art, has departed widely from that treatment of the subject which might have been suggested by the verses of the poet. The priest, seated on a slab or altar, and his two young sons, are struggling in the folds of the huge serpents. The youths, though good in conception, are indifferently executed; and it is in the principal figure that we perceive those qualities which make the group the most intensely expressive of all classical works. Indeed, both in the subject and in its treatment, no piece of antique sculpture in any degree approaches its dramatic and tragic force. It displays, with extraordinary skill, the desperate struggle of mind against suffering: the agony is complicated and unutterable, the endurance is sublime. The serpents are writhed about the body of their victim, and one of them bites fiercely into his left side, which quivers and starts with the pain. Throughout the whole frame the muscles are swollen, the nerves are convulsed, the breath is suffocated in the breast, and the limbs rise in their vain effort to shake off the force that chains them. The face is raised to heaven, and over the lower part of it protracted suffering has spread an appalling exhaustion; the mouth is sunk, and the nostrils inflated; the eyes and eye-brows exhibit the fiercest pang of the struggle between the firmness of the will and

agony both of body and of mind; and on the forehead, and over the whole aspect of the head, rests that inexplicable expression of strength which is the keynote of the composition.

Antinous died mysteriously, probably the victim of that gloomy superstition which strangely accompanied general scepticism. The affection of Hadrian deified the unfortunate and beautiful youth who had perhaps died to save him; and the artists filled the Roman empire with images of the lamented favourite. He was represented as a divinity, in the Greek style as Bacchus, Apollo, or Mercury, or in the fashionable Egyptian taste, as Osiris; and numerous statues are either individual portraits, or heroic and ideal embellishments of his head and figure. Many of them possess the highest merit, in a style of extreme and anxious finish. In very many the likeness is striking, and the character exceedingly remarkable. The breast is broad and prominent; the face is a fine, but wide and somewhat heavy oval; the eyebrows are massy; and the full lips and the whole attitude of the figure are inspired by a deeply elegiac air of sadness.

As to the progress of style indicated by these noble antiques, even the uninitiated can distinguish between the extremes of the series, between the elaborate minuteness and polish of the Antinous, and the comparative ease and breadth of manner in the Apollo; and still more readily can they trace the change from the severity of the Niobe to the style of the Apollo or the Laocoon. Nicer points of difference are for the eye and taste of the artist, or the well informed antiquary; and there are suffrages enough of both kinds to justify the assertion of a progress, in the order in which the works have now been described.

The distinction of style admits of yet another illustration; for the first sculptor of the age in which we live, unhesitatingly pronounces the famous Torso of the Belvedere Hercules to belong to the imperial times, and to resemble in style such works as the Laocoon.

This incomparable statue is a mere fragment, and much less fitted for the uninstructed lover of the beautiful, than for the accomplished connoisseur. From Michel Angelo to Thorwaldsen, the first artists have regarded the Torso with an admiration, rendered only the more reverential by its state of ruin. The head and arms are wanting, and the legs as far up as the thighs; while the breast and part of the back are much broken. In the remains of the trunk the character has been universally admitted, since Winckelmann analysed it, to be that of ideal divinity,—the hero after his deification. The accidental parts of the human figure, such as the veins, are invisible, and only the essential characteristics of the frame are indicated. The contours are those of gigantic, overwhelming strength; the muscles are powerful to a degree surpassing reality, yet flowing and quite free from harshness; and the proportions are broad and massive in the extreme.*

The differences in subject and expression are more easily appreciated, and there are ample materials for comparison. One short series of examples may here suffice. Early sculpture, setting out from the sacred style of the temple-idols, represented its figures in profound repose, as in the Pallas of the Villa Albani: but in the colossal Pallas of Velletri, already described, the stiffness is broken up, the head is gently bent, and the right arm raised; and in later statues of the same goddess, she is often represented in motion, and sometimes in quick and vigorous action, as in that of speaking (the Pallas *Agoraia*), or of preparing for combat (*Promachos*). We

* Vatican, Mus. Pio.-Clem. Vestibule, No. 1. "Thorwaldsen, although the fact does not weaken his admiration of this masterpiece of antiquity, characterizes the style as one which, in respect of the whole system of the muscles, and the mode of treating them, and in respect of a sort of refinement on the most refined, evidently belongs to the later ages of the plastic art. He has not intimated this opinion publicly, *i. e.* in print; but I have heard him repeatedly express it in conversation, with that clearness and certainty which befits a mind like his, imbued with all the greatness of the antique."—Thiersch, Epochen, p. 332.

have no representations of Minerva which go much beyond this; but in one work of the highest order, the Diana of Versailles,* which may be very fitly contrasted with the Pallas-figures, the attitude is that of hurried and eager motion, a liveliness of action not approached by any specimen which can be confidently referred to the ante-Roman times. Now the attitude of this statue much resembles that of the Apollo Belvedere; the sizes correspond as well as the style of the execution, and there is also a striking general likeness of air and expression. Certain it is that neither of them was designed for a temple; and it is a pleasing and plausible supposition, though not capable of proof, that the two were formed as counterparts, and together adorned some magnificent hall of Nero's Antian villa. The animation of expression in the face of the Apollo is not paralleled by any representation of the god, except some busts which are clearly copied from it; the hasty quickness of the attitude is equally in advance of all the other figures; and the character of the head appears to borrow details from several other antiques, and (excepting busts) to be copied by none. It would be equally impossible to produce any good work of ancient times which treats a subject so actively tragic as the Laocoon. If the Apollo is beyond the calmness of Greek subjects, the Laocoon is as far beyond the Apollo. It hovers on the very verge of that extremity of action, which even modern sculpture would shrink from treating. On the power of expression which it possesses it is needless to say a word. The Niobe is nearest to it in subject: let the two be compared. Both are strong: but the strength of the one is suppressed, absorbed, motionless; that of the other is active, fiery, uncontrolled by any thing except that fine sense of art which Grecian minds never lost, and which even in this later stage preserved an equipoise, contrasting beautifully with the exaggerations of modern statuary.

* La Diane a la Biche, Louvre, No. 178. The place where this statue was found is not known.

THE SUBJECTS OF ROMAN SCULPTURE DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

In the preceding sketch of the revolutions of ancient sculpture from the age before Phidias to that of Hadrian, some masterpieces which still exist in Italy, and a few which once adorned her palaces or temples, have been incidentally named as explanatory instances. But the Italian galleries possess many more antiques of singular excellence, and some which scarcely yield to the best of those already specified. Certain of these cannot be passed over, among which, although some undoubtedly belong to the older Grecian period, a much larger number must be assigned to the ages now under our notice; and it is conceived that by arranging such specimens according to their subjects, they will be best apprehended as exponents of thought and illustrations of history and national character.

Two things must be premised. In the first place, we are not to believe that many of the existing sculptures were devoted to the purposes of worship. The notion flatters the imagination, but is unfounded. The crowds of reliques which, after lying for centuries beneath the ruins of ancient palaces, villas, theatres, or basilicæ, have reappeared to adorn the modern galleries, were in almost every instance the ornaments of those secular buildings, and not of temples. The list of sacred images, too, does not perhaps include any one of the highest rank. But, in the next place, we do severe injustice to classical art if we adhere to the opinion, that the very best works we possess are nothing more than copies from older and better efforts of genius. Many admirable antiques, executed with much skill and feeling, are doubtless copies; but many others certainly are not. The Niobe may be a copy: the Venus is not one, nor is the Apollo, nor the Laocoon. The true state of the case has been already suggested. In the golden age of art there were conceived ideal forms of some of the favourite objects of representation; and the conceptions so framed, obtaining a sanction almost religious, affected all subsequent works,

which treated either the same subjects, or others cognate to them. For the highest artists of every age after Phidias, this was all: a fence was drawn around certain subjects, but within the line there was ample room for original invention. The Venus de' Medici is a work whose inspiration was drawn from the elder statues of Praxiteles and of Phidias, but it is one whose grace and beauty are its own; it was stolen as genius steals from genius, it was stolen as Phidias stole from Homer.

It is surprising how little nationality Roman art displays, and it is humiliating to discover how little invention there is even in that small section of it which is in any sense native. For the early legends and the later histories of their race the people found poets and annalists; but their sternness of character, aided perhaps by political causes, barred them from finding a sculptor or painter even for the noblest scenes of their annals or their poetical traditions. The imperial achievements adorned triumphal arches and columns with reliefs, in a style which, notwithstanding much skill of execution and even of design in its earlier efforts, has scarcely been too harshly treated by being compared, in respect of its tameness and dryness of conception, to the paragraphs of a military gazette.

The statues of the emperors, however, of which the series is tolerably complete, give an extremely favourable view of the progress of sculpture, and strongly confirm the notion of its continued excellence. The Greeks who formed such works, wanted only the inspiration of their own beautiful mythology, and the melancholy remembrance of their fallen land, to evolve such conceptions as the most exquisite of the imaginative compositions. The imperial statues were sometimes simple portraits, like that of Augustus in his pontifical robes,* and many in the military dress. Of the equestrian portraits the most celebrated is the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius; a work remarkable for the dignity of the emperor's figure,

* In the Vatican, Mus. Pio-Clement. Sala Rotonda, No. 14

and the uncommon expression of life in the somewhat clumsy horse. This is one of the very few antiques which have never been under ground. We find it mentioned in the Notitia, a work written in the middle of the fifth century of our era, at which time it stood in the Forum near the arch of Septimius Severus, and was called the Horse of Constantine. In 966, Pope John XIII. hanged on it the rebellious prefect Petrus; and in 974 the corpse of the Antipope Boniface was thrown down beneath it. In 1187 it was transferred to the front of the Lateran, where it stood when Rienzi, on his great festival, made the nostrils of the horse discharge wine for the people. In 1538 Paul III. removed it, under the direction of Michel Angelo, to its present place in the square of the Capitol.* Other imperial statues were ideal and heroic, and generally naked, a class which is best represented by the Antinous; and some of these works were colossal. There are many admired female busts and statues belonging to the imperial families, the most interesting of which are certainly those of the elder Agrippina, the unfortunate wife of Germanicus.†

Portrait sculptures of the republican times scarcely occur. There is, however, amongst other instances, a very remarkable bust full of character, which is recognised as representing Scipio Africanus.‡ The celebrated heroic statue of the Palazzo Spada in Rome, is probably (though the point is disputed) a likeness of Pompey, and *perhaps* is the figure at the foot of which Julius Cæsar fell. The best, and, it may be, the only genuine bust of Cæsar himself, is in the collection at Naples.§ As to Roman literary men, we have genuine but not exact busts of

* Fea, Dissertazione sulle Rovine di Roma, appended to his Translation of Winckelmann (1783-4), vol. iii. p. 410.

† Extant, if the subject is not misconceived, in several repetitions; especially in Naples, Statues, No 131; and in the Capitol, Stanza degl' Imperatori.

‡ Capitoline Museum; Galleria, No. 50.

§ Museo Borbonico, No. 175; but see the Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. vi. tav. 38.

Terence, Sallust, Horace, Seneca, and some others; many pretended heads of Cicero, and some true ones.*

There are a few excellent portraits of private or unknown persons, of which the Germanicus already mentioned is perhaps the best as well as the oldest specimen. Herculaneum has furnished some admirable examples of this class. Three are in Dresden; and the family of the Herculanean Nonius Balbus are at Naples, and consist of two small equestrian statues and seven figures on foot, of which five are female.†

Portraits of eminent Greeks of elder times were either copied after likenesses taken from the original, or formed by invention, in a style which was sometimes extremely felicitous. Instances of the former class are very numerous. Among the best are some busts, and one or more statues, of Demosthenes; other full lengths of Athenian orators; a very admirable statue which, on most insufficient grounds, has been named Aristides;‡ two fine sitting figures in the Vatican, of which one is inscribed as a portrait of the poet Posidippus, and the other, from its likeness to known busts, is believed to represent the more celebrated Menander.§ Of the ideal class the grandest example is the majestic head of Homer, extant in several repetitions;|| and a highly characteristic creation is the Silenus-like head of Socrates, imagined by Lysippus, and preserved in a good many busts.¶

But in the art, as in the literature of Rome, subjects

* Cicero, in the Glypothek of Munich, No. 224; bust from the Mattei palace in Rome, now belonging to the Duke of Wellington.

† Museo Borbonico, Nos. 65, 66; and Nos. 45, 47, 50, 52, 55, 57, 60.

‡ At Naples; Museo Borbonico, No. 388.

§ Mus. Pio-Clem Galleria delle Statue, Nos. 24 and 25.

|| At Naples, Mus. Borb., No. 348; and British Museum, Room III., No. 25. Inferior examples; Capitoline Museum, Stanza de' Filosofi, Nos. 44, 45, 46.

¶ Capitoline Museum, Stanza de' Filosofi, Nos. 4, 5, 6; and elsewhere. The room containing these busts furnishes many examples of Greek portraits belonging to both the classes mentioned in the text. See Visconti, Iconographie Grecque, 1811; tome i. pp. 49-59, 163-169.

from the authentic annals, either of their own nation or of their Hellenic neighbours, bore a very small proportion to those derived from the Grecian mythology and legendary history.

Of the works taken from the circle of the Twelve Olympic Divinities, the most remarkable have been already described. The best are unquestionably the Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Minerva, and Diana; and the origin of some of these classical conceptions has been traced to the Phidian age or near it. It remains to direct attention, in the first place, to a few others of the best Venus-statues in the Italian galleries. In the Vatican, it is enough to notice the fine Venus Anadyomene, and the beautiful though injured Crouching Venus, which bears the name of its artist Bupalus.* The Neapolitan Museum possesses, in the Venus Victrix of Capua, a statue of the highest ideal beauty;† and a collection of figures in another room of the same gallery, is useful as exhibiting copies, for the most part indifferently executed, of almost every known character of the goddess. In the Florentine gallery, the fame of the Venus de' Medici has eclipsed at least one very lovely figure, —the half-draped Venus with the Diadem.‡ An equal decline in art and in female modesty is displayed by some existing antiques, which represent Roman ladies, of imperial or princely rank, and of ordinary face and form, invested with the attributes of the Venus, and not shrinking from her exposure of the person.§ Before the idea of the Apollo reached the point developed in the masterpiece of the Belvedere, his statues had undergone a series of changes, which set out from a muscular and

* Braccio Nuovo, No. 42; and Mus. Pio-Clem. Gabinetto delle Maschere, No. 5.

† Mus. Borb. Statues, No. 104.

‡ In the small (second) corridor of the great gallery.

§ The Venus and Cupid of the Vatican; Mus. Pio-Clem. Cortile di Belvedere, No. 46; found among the ruins of the so-called Temple of Venus and Cupid in the vineyard of the monastery Santa Croce in Gierusalemme, and believed to represent the wife of Alexander Severus.

manly character, illustrated by more than one example,* and passed after the Macedonian ages into the more usual representation of a youth who has not yet reached maturity. Of the boyish forms of those later times, there are several extremely beautiful specimens; the best of which are perhaps the Lycian Apollo of the Florentine gallery, a figure of exceeding loveliness and repose;† and the Apollo with the Lyre and Swan at Naples, probably in its outlines the most perfect of all the statues of this divinity.‡ Of the sculptures representing the god in scenes of his legend, the Apollo Belvedere is far the most successful; but there appear to have been many groups of this class, none of which remain entire. To such we must refer the numerous representations of Marsyas, suspended to the pine-tree;§ and to the same story the most probable opinion assigns the expressive statue of the Whetter at Florence,|| an old man with mean features and a Tartar skull, who crouches down whetting a knife, but looking up with an air of fixed curiosity. Of the Mercury statues, it is enough to cite the celebrated one of the Vatican, long mistaken for an Antinous, and equally admirable for the excellent proportions of the trunk, and the beauty and godlike repose of the head.¶

Of the inferior divinities, the classes to which we owe the most interesting antiques are two. The first embraces the Bacchic legends; the second those of Cupid, the Greek Eros. Of all the symbolical fables of ancient times, these two cycles were at once the most profoundly significant,

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* Mus. Capitol. Salone, No. 7 (in the ancient style); another of similar character, but of a later period, in the same museum, Stanza del Gladiatore, No. 17; found at the Solfatara near Tivoli.

† The Apollino of the Tribune.

‡ Mus. Borbon.: Statues, No. 72.

§ Two examples in the great gallery of Florence; western corridor.

|| The Arrotino of the Tribune, called by some the Slave Vindex. The idea in the text belongs to the Abate Fea. See note to his translation of Winckelmann, vol. ii. p. 314.

¶ Mus. Pio-Clem. Cortile di Belvedere, No. 56.

and the most poetical. The mysteries, which in their successive stages possessed so much of piety, of imagination, and of vice, were founded on the Bacchic traditions, which abounded in picturesque representations of the physical qualities of the material world. The fable of Eros had, in its most complete form, a more elevated and spiritual design.

And first, of the Dionysiac or Bacchic legends. The character of the leading divinity himself, was that of youthful, voluptuous, almost feminine beauty; but of the few good statues in which he appears unaccompanied, Italy perhaps possesses only one, besides fragments.* Several antiques represent him attended by youthful Satyrs, by Eros, Ampelos, or other mythological personages; and his meeting with Ariadne on the isle of Naxos has furnished, besides pictures and reliefs, one of the finest pieces of sculpture in Italy, the recumbent colossal Ariadne of the Vatican, a statue equally noble in design and execution, and belonging either to the independent age of Greece or to the very earliest period of the Roman sovereignty.† The other actors in the mystic revel are more frequent than Bacchus himself. We have already traced the formation of the figure of the Satyrs, whom the Italians called Fauns; and to the examples then named we must add two bronzes of the Neapolitan collection, a Drunken Faun, and another crowned with an oaken garland,‡ together with two statues of the Florentine gallery, namely, a superb Torso, and the celebrated Dancing Faun, so inimitable for life and grace, and so worthily restored from its ruins.§ But Italy has now lost the grandest of all

* The Bacchus of the Villa Ludovisi in Rome (generally inaccessible). The fine colossal Torso of the Farnese collection, now at Naples; Mus. Borb. Statues, No. 195. Probably the best perfect statue is that of the Louvre, No. 154.

† Mus. Pio-Clem. Galleria delle Statue, No. 51; sometimes, though wrongly, called a Cleopatra.

‡ Mus. Borb. Bronzi, No. 5 and No. 60.

§ The Torso in the Little Corridor; the Dancing Faun of the Tribune, restored by Michel Angelo.

the satyr statues, the colossal Sleeping Faun of the Barberini gallery, a work in the very best style of art, and perhaps belonging to the time, if not to the hand, of Scopas or Praxiteles.* The Silenus is not rare; and there are at least three masterly groups of this personage, carrying in his arms the infant Bacchus, all apparently copies of some renowned original.† Pan belongs to the Bacchic scenes, and is represented in some excellent statues;‡ but both he and the female votaries, as well as the Satyrs, and the wildest and most picturesque scenes of the Dionysiac rites, are chiefly to be sought in reliefs. The same thing is true of the figures of Centaurs, which in one view might be ranked in the Bacchic cycle, while, in another, they as properly come into the class of the legends of Eros, who, in several groups, is represented, by a significantly poetical fiction, as taming those fierce and anomalous beings.§

The most meritorious of the single statues of Cupid have been already alluded to; and it must be noticed, that in many bas-reliefs, especially of the later ages, Cupids appear in a kind of obscure allegory as genii, represented often with extreme grace, not only in childish sport, but in the games of the circus, and in a playful imitation of all the employments of human life. Several sleeping figures may be added to the

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* In Munich, Glypothek, No. 96. Found at Rome, in the moat of the Castle St Angelo, into which it had probably fallen with the other statues, which, in 537, the Greek soldiers of Belisarius hurled down on the heads of the besieging Goths.

† The best (from the Borghese gallery), in the Louvre, No. 709; Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 126; Munich. No. 115, acquired, like the Vatican statue, from the Ruspoli palace in Rome.

‡ Pan and Olympus, in the Florentine Gallery, eastern corridor; the magnificent statue of the Holkham Gallery (from Italy); Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, vol ii. plate 27.

§ Vatican, Mus. Pio-Clem. Sala degli Animali, No. ?2; Capitol, Salone, No. 2 and No. 4. The last enumerated is an inferior repetition of the famous Borghese Centaur, Louvre, No. 134. The Capitoline and Borghese Centaurs were found in Hadrian's Villa, and belong to his times; and the Borghese and second Capitoline groups are curious on account of the head, which is a close imitation of that of the Laocoon, both in features and expression.

list;* and the only other specimens deserving attention, are those taken from the fable of Eros and Psyche, the legend which shadows forth the soul as a lovely female child, wandering through the earth to seek that heavenly love from which sin has parted her. This is an Italian conception, though built on a Greek foundation; the representations of various points of the story, which are so common on reliefs and gems, all belong to the Roman times; and some of the most poetical are of too late a period to deserve notice as achievements of art. In many of them, Eros is represented as tormenting the butterfly, the emblem of Psyche, whose figures always have the wings of that insect; and in one gem he is portrayed as hunting it, a subject which is also found in one of the Florentine statues. In another group, Psyche kneels to Eros, and is forgiven.† But the works which are at once the most pleasing in composition, and the most successful in execution, are the numerous copies of the graceful embrace of Eros and Psyche,—a scene which became a favourite before sculpture had altogether sunk, and was so often repeated, that almost every great gallery in Europe possesses an antique copy of it.‡

Of the legends drawn from the heroic ages, none has furnished so many works of a high order as that of Hercules. In statuary the most celebrated representations are the Farnese and Belvedere figures already described. Several groups exhibit the infant hero strangling the serpents;§ others show him in manhood, with Telephus, Omphale, or others. Numerous reliefs as well as paintings, but scarcely any good statues, are founded on the fables of Theseus, of the Labdacidæ, of the Argonautic adventure, and of Jason and Medea. Among statues relat-

* Two in Florence, and one in the Royal Gallery at Turin.

† Louvre, No. 496; Borghese Collection.

‡ Museo Capitolino; Stanza del Gladiatore, No. 3.—One in the Florentine Gallery.

§ A very fine colossal marble in the Gallery of Turin: a repetition of it at Florence: a bronze (No. 69) in the Museum of Naples, which, however, is said to be only a copy made about the sixteenth century.

ing to others of the heroic legends, the best is the Meleager of the Vatican;* and to the story of the Dioscuri belong the Florentine and other figures of Leda. From the Theban traditions we have many reliefs, and some statues and groups, the most famous of which is the imposing but desperately mutilated group of the Farnese Bull, representing the tragical fate of Dirce.† The Thessalian traditions give the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis as the theme of the reliefs on the celebrated Barberini or Portland vase, a work of the time of Alexander Severus, but distinguished by the beauty of the material, which is a vitreous composition imitating sardonyx.‡ The same legends introduce to us the incidents of the Trojan war, which are common on reliefs; and there is one supposed statue of Achilles, with several busts.§ The Sacrifice of Iphigenia is figured on the elegant Medicean vase of the Florentine gallery; and the famous Iliac Table of the Capitol represents in a series of reliefs the chief events of the same war in their relation to the traditional origin of Rome.|| A group of Menelaus bearing the corpse of Patroclus is extant in several mutilated copies, of which the two least injured are in Florence;¶ there is another fragment of great merit in the Vatican;** and a fourth has undergone a very singular fate, being the battered figure which stands at the corner of the Braschi Palace in Rome, and, under the name of Pasquin, fathers the local witticisms of the modern Romans.††

* Belvedere, Mus. Pio-Clem.: Vestibule, third division, No. 1. Found in a vineyard on the Janiculan Mount.

† At Naples. Lately removed from the garden of the Villa Reale to the Court of Inscriptions in the Royal Museum.

‡ British Museum, Room XI. Found about 1591, within a sarcophagus in a tomb near Rome on the Frascati road. The sarcophagus is in the Capitol (Stanza dell' Urna), and is covered with reliefs representing the adventures of Achilles.

§ The Borghese Achilles in the Louvre, No. 144; a copy of very unequal execution.

|| Mus. Capitol. Stanza del Vaso, No. 37.

¶ In the Pitti palace and on the Ponte Vecchio.

** Belved. Mus. Pio-Clem. Stanza de' Busti, No. 26.

†† See the Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. vi. tav. 19, and the rela-

The subjects of the works which have been now pointed out are in most cases certain. There are, however, a great many statues, as well as reliefs, of which the subjects are extremely doubtful. In some of these (and perhaps in more than the antiquaries are willing to admit) the artists seem really to have had nothing farther in view than the representation of a fine model in a spirited and expressive attitude, generally taken from some act of familiar life. As instances we may take two delightful figures of Children, one of whom laughs from beneath a Silenus mask, and the other exerts his pigmy strength in attempting to strangle a goose.*

In other works, however, the attitudes and grouping are too significant not to have been intended as a picture of some particular event. Of monuments belonging to this class three may be named, all possessing very lofty qualities,—the Pætus and Arria, the Papirius with his Mother,† and the Dying Gladiator.‡ In the first of these groups a beautiful woman, wounded and fainting, is supported by a male figure, of a character neither ideal nor Grecian, who is in the act of plunging a short sword into his own neck. In the second, a majestic female grasps and seems to address a youth, who looks up to her with respect and attention. The third is familiar to every one, and is incomparable for the pathetic force with which it expresses the pain and lassitude of approaching death, in the air of the wounded man, fallen to the ground, and feebly propping himself on one arm.

The names just assigned to these three works are those by which they are best known; but, since Winckelmann wrote, it is generally admitted that they are wrong, though all the three belong to the period now before us. The first has been named Canace with the Slave; it has with less

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tive text. Many of these pasquinades are in the form of short dialogues between Pasquino (the Menelaus), and Marforio, a colossal river-god, No. 1, in the court of the Capitoline Museum.

* Mus. Capitol. Stanza del Fauno, No. 15 and No. 21.

† Both in the Roman Villa Ludovisi.

‡ Mus. Capitol. Stanza del Gladiatore Moribondo, No. 1.

probability been called Hæmon and Antigone; and it has also been supposed to represent a scene from some of the Roman battles, a barbarian killing his wife and himself to escape slavery. Of the theories regarding the second, the most plausible is that which recognises in it Electra tutoring the young Orestes for his task of vengeance. The Dying Gladiator has stronger claims to his old name than either of the others; and besides the dramatic pathos which belongs to the subject in this view, it would be deeply interesting to conceive a Grecian artist filled with melancholy inspiration by the departed glory of his race, and representing, in this sad composition, one of the most pitiable victims of his stern masters. There are difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, but the figure is unquestionably neither that of a Greek nor of a Roman, and the newest opinion describes it as that of a barbarian wounded in one of the imperial wars, and forming part of a group on some lost monument.*

THE IMITATIVE STYLES OF SCULPTURE.

The art has hitherto exhibited a gradual and natural development; but a few works of the Roman times display an artificial and forced taste which it is worth while to notice. The reliques of this class are of two descriptions.

The first consists of pieces which copy the ancient stiffness and harshness of the Greek archaic or hieratic style. In Greece, even in the best ages of art, this designed imitation of antiquity had place to a certain extent in many of the temple-statues. Some Roman efforts of the kind may be accounted for on the same principle; but in many instances the copying of the ancient manner was solely an affair of caprice or fashion, and such specimens, though important to the antiquary in the way of illustration, are apt to create mistakes in the chronology of art. In many cases, however, the imitation is incomplete, and is thus detected. Two instances may

* See the Beschreibung, vol. iii. part 1. p. 248.

be sufficient. One is a highly-finished relief of three female figures in the Vatican:* the other is a remarkable though mutilated quadrilateral altar in the Capitol, beautifully sculptured with reliefs, which represent the labours of Hercules, but which, though strictly antique in some particulars, in others display characteristics that seem to indicate the age of Hadrian.†

To that time belongs the second class of imitations. These are the reproductions of Egyptian sculpture which were introduced by the emperor's peculiar taste, and of which his villa at Tivoli and some other ruins have furnished great numbers. Such copies are easily distinguishable from the genuine works of the East. They have no hieroglyphs,—they are highly and minutely finished,—the forms, the anatomy, and the expression, are Greek or Roman,—and, in short, they have little which entitles them to the foreign name, except the subjects (chiefly Egyptian divinities) together with the dress and attributes.

SCULPTURE AFTER THE TIMES OF THE ANTONINES: A. U. 933—1059: OR A. D. 180—306.

Thus far those works and ages have been reviewed in which sculpture claims study by its own merits. The museums of Italy, however, and particularly those of Rome, are thronged with monuments which, belonging either to the very end of the classical period, or to the centuries which intervened till the fall of the empire, are as productions of art almost universally worthless, but possess great interest as illustrating the prevailing modes of thought and of religious feeling. They are chiefly sarcophagi, the practice of burying the dead having by the time of the Antonines nearly superseded that of burning; and these stone-coffins are covered with sculptures in relief, embracing a great variety of subjects. Some are discovered crowned with portrait-busts; others

* Museo Chiaramonti, No. 358.

† Mus. Capitol. Stanza Lapidaria, No. 13: from Albano. See the Beschreibung, vol. iii. part 1. p. 149.

have reliefs exhibiting family groups, or scenes which seem to be taken from real life; and many represent mythological subjects, in which it is difficult to trace any peculiar adaptation to their purpose. But in very many cases the scenes of the sepulchral reliefs have a symbolical meaning easily discernible; and these give us a most interesting glimpse of the theological notions current in the pagan world during the early ages of Christianity.

In some the symbolical allusion is direct and simple; such, for instance, as figure combats of the heroic times on the sepulchre of a soldier, or adorn the grave of a dead youth with the story of the slain Adonis, or of Ganymede carried off by the eagle. In many others the symbol is more abstruse; as, for example, in those incidents from the fable of Love and Psyche, often so beautifully and tenderly conceived, and yet executed in a style of the utmost coarseness, which marks the tomb as being literally the worst manufacture of a bad manufactory. Bacchic scenes are also very frequent, in many of which the initiation is assumed as the type of death, and the god as the divinity of the realm of shadows. In some of these the sensual characteristics of the rites are disgustingly prominent; in others there is a pure poetical pathos. The same idea seems to be the prevailing one in two very favourite subjects; the Repose of Ariadne and that of Endymion. The sleep is that of death: Dionysos and Luna, the divinities of the dead, approach the sleepers with love and pity; but the slumber of the grave continues unbroken. The idea is also indicated by the Cupid-like youth, the Genius of Mortal Life, sleeping, or with his hands crossed above his head, leaning on the cypress-tree; while in other reliefs he bends over the inverted torch, or holds the butterfly, the emblem of the soul, or the bird, the symbol of the manes. Some sarcophagi have the voyage of the departed spirit to the island of Kronos, and numerous other devices bearing reference to the metaphysical notions taught in the later schools of Grecian philosophy.

In many reliefs we can perceive the solemnity of this symbolic and religious meaning gradually losing itself; and we discover the utter abuse and misapprehension of it, in such works as those which show us Endymion visited by a female figure whose face is clearly a portrait, or which crown other goddesses with fashionable Roman head-dresses. The complete departure from the classical mythology, which had been evinced at an earlier period by the Egyptian copies, now displayed itself in the numerous amulets on gems and rings, and in such reliefs as those representing the Syrian worship of Mithras by the slaying of the bull. These and other scenes were frequent on Italian marbles, about the time when Alexandria is known to have abounded in the cabalistic Abraxas gems.

TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ART IN ITALY.

Ancient Italy, as we have seen, besides importing many works executed in foreign countries, was itself the seat of three distinct developments of the fine arts. There was, first, in Lower Italy and Sicily, a large district where they were practised with high success by Grecian colonists. Secondly, there was another, chiefly comprised in Etruria, in which the indigenous Italian population cultivated them with more or less dependence on Greece. And thirdly, after the fall of that nation, the whole peninsula, but especially the metropolis, became the residence of foreign artists, and the receptacle of the works which they executed for their Roman masters.

The existing monuments of ancient Architecture are scattered over the whole country. The topographical chapters of this volume will point out the principal remains, and make it now almost unnecessary to say, that by far the richest field of this class of antiquities is in Rome and Latium, which contain an extent of classical ruins nowhere equalled within the same space.

Of antique Painting and Sculpture in all their modifications, almost every monument which Italy now possesses has been found on her own soil, having been

either executed there, or imported before the fall of the empire. But the country, especially within the last hundred years, has lost an immense number of sculptures, which, though some of them may be found in every kingdom of Europe, are far most abundant in the Louvre. The history of the museums of Italy would form an interesting chapter of illustrations for her political and moral history. Thousands of antiques lay buried for centuries beneath the ruins of the buildings which they had adorned, and the few statues and other monuments which stood in different parts of Rome in the middle ages, were either neglected or misinterpreted. Even in the bright though short interval of enlightenment which shone on the fourteenth century, there still prevailed an ignorance as to archæology, of which we may take as a specimen the fact, that Petrarch gravely calls the pyramid of Cestius the tomb of Remus. Attention to art revived with the final revival of letters; and after the excavations commenced by Pope Paul III. in the first half of the sixteenth century, which discovered the Farnese Torso, Hercules, Flora, and Venus Callipygos, the search for classical reliques was unintermitted, and many galleries were formed. The private collections have now, with very few exceptions, merged in the public museums, at the head of which stand those of Rome, Florence, and Naples.

The City of the Popes contains two public Museums of Antiques, those of the Vatican and the Capitol. The former, which has no equal in the world, presents many works of the highest order, and its almost innumerable specimens of a lower class constitute of themselves a most instructive school for the study of heathen mythology and customs. Its chief treasures are contained in the department named the Museo Pio-Clementino, which was opened by Clement XIV., and enlarged by Pius VI., embracing both the monuments previously procured, and very many new acquisitions. A second department, far less valuable as well as less extensive, derives its name of the Museo Chiaramonti from its founder

Pius VII. A third, and yet smaller one, the Braccio Nuovo, was added in 1821. The finest works of the Vatican are its marble sculptures and its bronzes; but it contains also some excellent mosaics, a very few ancient paintings, a good many terra-cottas, and an extremely curious gallery of inscriptions, partly heathen, partly belonging to the early Christians. There is a small collection of Egyptian monuments, begun by Pius VII. in 1819; and an Etruscan museum has been opened by Gregory XVI. The whole number of antiques in the Vatican falls little short of 4000, without reckoning the inscriptions, which amount to upwards of 3000. The Museum of the Capitol, founded by Clement XII., with which may be classed the collection in the Palazzo de' Conservatori on the opposite side of the square, is immeasurably inferior both in extent and value. It, however, contains several masterpieces, and its chief importance in other respects consists in its collection of portrait-busts and statues.

The Private Galleries in Rome are now lamentably fallen. The collection of the Villa Albani still contains many interesting monuments, but most of its treasures are to be sought at Munich and in the Louvre. In the latter museum also is the first and most famous collection of the Villa Borghese; and that which has been since formed is of far inferior worth. The Farnese gallery has been transferred to Naples, and that of the Villa de' Medici to Florence. The antiques of the Barberini Palace are chiefly in England and at Munich; those of the Mattei Palace and Villa, and the Villa Negroni, are principally in the Vatican; and those of the celebrated Giustiniani Palace are scattered over all Europe. The Villa Ludovisi possesses a few sculptures universally acknowledged as masterpieces.

The Ducal Gallery of Florence, contained in the building Degli Ufizj, is scarcely less rich in classical sculpture than in modern painting. Its best antiques are the statues of the Roman Villa Medici, which include several works of the very highest excellence. Its bronzes and

vases are also valuable, its sarcophagi and busts, though less so, are nevertheless interesting, and its collection of Etruscan monuments is large and increasing.

The Royal Gallery of Naples, called the Museo Borbonico, embraces several extremely precious departments. Its splendid collection of marbles amounts to more than 500 pieces. Its bronzes and bas-reliefs are also very important, and it possesses a small Egyptian museum. The Borgia, Albani, and other galleries, have contributed, with the Farnese, to enrich it; and it has received immense accessions from excavations both in Magna Græcia and in the neighbourhood of the city, of which the most celebrated and productive are those of Herculaneum and Pompeii. To these two towns it owes its unequalled collection of about 1600 antique paintings, which, having been skilfully detached from the walls of the disinterred buildings, are preserved under cover in the halls of the museum.

In Sicily, Palermo and Catania contain some private collections of antiques, and several towns in Italy possess public galleries of moderate extent and worth. The Royal Museum of Turin, established under the direction of Maffei, contains a few good Grecian and Roman marbles, a considerable number of inscriptions, and an excellent Egyptian department, in which has been incorporated the first of Drovetti's well known collections. At Brescia the recent discovery of an ancient temple has given interest to the formation of a museum; and that of Verona, although containing little except inscriptions, derives fame from Maffei its founder and historian. The collections of Venice, consisting partly of antiques found in her provinces, partly of works from Greece, are comparatively insignificant; and, besides the Public Gallery in the library of St Mark, the most remarkable pieces are the four Bronze Horses, which, however, are more noted for their adventures and undoubted antiquity than for their plastic merit. Brought by the Roman general Mummius from Corinth on its capture, they were removed by Constantine from Rome to his Hippodrome

at Byzantium. In 1204, when the soldiers of the fourth Crusade turned against their Christian allies in the east those arms which had been consecrated to win the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels, these renowned figures were, in the sack of Constantinople, appropriated by the Venetians, and sent to decorate the metropolitan church of their island-city. They were next seized, like so many other works of art in Italy, by the French invaders of 1797, and were exposed for several years on a triumphal arch of Napoleon in Paris. They were restored, however, in 1815, and now again crown the great gate of the Venetian cathedral.

CHAPTER VI.

The Ancient Topography of Rome and Latium.

I. Ancient Rome: Position and Aspect—General View of the City—Monuments of the Kings—The Rampart—The Tunnel—The Dungeon—Monuments of the Republic—Tombs—The Circus—The Capitoline Rock—*The Roman Forum and Sacred Way*—Ruins covering the Republican Forum—Its probable Position—The Palatine Mount—The Sacred Way—Monuments of the Empire—*The Augustan Period*—Ruins on the Palatine—On the Campus Martius—Tombs—The Pantheon—The Hill of Gardens—*Nero*—His Conflagration and New City—*Later Emperors*—The Baths of Titus—The Colosseum—Trajan's Forum—Hadrian's Bridge and Tomb—Monuments of the Decline—Population of Rome.—II. Ancient Latium: Aspect—*Monuments near Rome*—Aqueducts—Highways—Monuments of the Kings—*Latian Scenes of the Æneid*—The Tiber Banks—Ostia—The Island—The Port—Ruins in the Forest—Laurentum—Lavinium—The Stream Numicus—Ardea—*The Volscian Coast*—Antium—Astura—The Isle of Circe—Anxur—The Pontine Marshes—The Hills—*The Ausonian District*—The Cæcuban Hills—Towns—*The Volscian Frontier*—Arpinum—*The Hernician District*—Cyclopean Ruins—*The Alban Mountains*—Tusculum—The Mounts—The Lakes—*The Prænestine Mountains*—Præneste—Tibur.

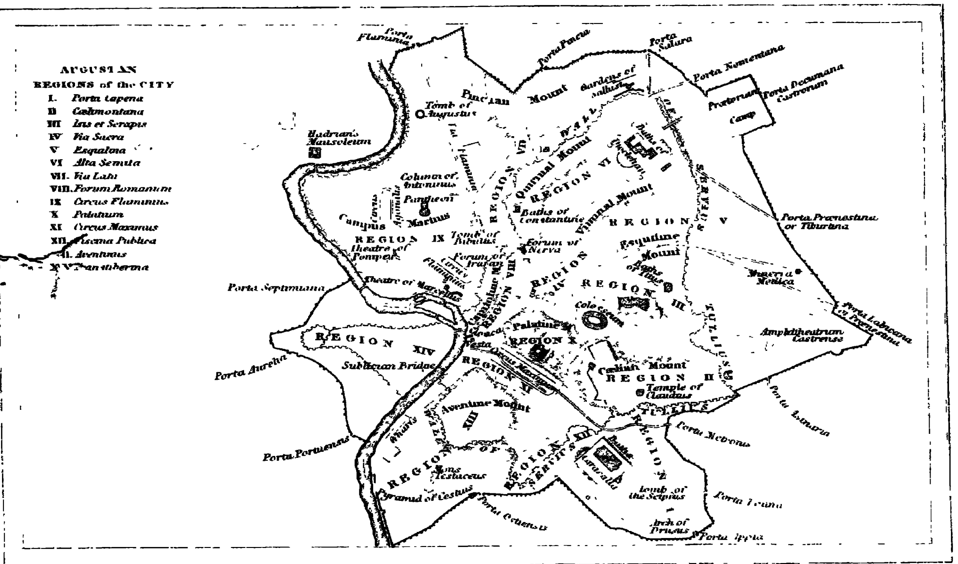
ANCIENT ROME.

The district in which Rome lies, partly included within the ancient Latium and partly in Etruria, is now called by foreigners the Campagna, and by the natives the Agro Romano. It is an undulating plain, which, reckoned from Civitā Vecchia to Terracina, is about a hundred miles long; while its breadth nowhere exceeds forty miles, and is in most places considerably less. The

sea is its boundary on the south-west. On the north it is partly enclosed by the low hills of La Tolfa behind Cività Vecchia; and farther eastward, in the same quarter, the isolated Mount San Oreste, which is the ancient Soracte, rises near the valley of the Tiber. Beyond that river the north-eastern side of the plain is bounded by the lofty range of the Sabine mountains, which approach nearest to the city at Tibur and Præneste, and are an offset of the great Apennine chain. Southward from Præneste the high-lying valley of the Hernici, continuing the boundary, separates the Sabine heights from the group of mountains anciently inhabited by the Volscians. These lie nearly north and south, and, dipping into the Mediterranean at Terracina, hem in between them and the sea the narrow Pontine Marshes, which compose the most southerly division of the Campagna.

From the modern Tower of the Capitol we command a prospect uniting, in an unexampled degree, the charm of a magnificent landscape with that which springs from historical associations. Through the cloudless and transparent atmosphere a large part of the Latian plain is visible, though some of its nearest features have a prominence which hides the more distant. Its luxuriant pasturages and its thickets of brushwood fade away, on one side, into the faint line of the distant sea, and rise on the other into the stately amphitheatre of the mountains, steep and lofty, yet green to their tops, studded on their sides with towns and villages, and towards their southern extremity clothed with beautiful woods. The Tiber, stained to a deep yellow by the fertilizing soil which it has washed away from its banks after entering the Umbrian and Etruscan vales, glitters like a belt of gold along the plain, in the sunshine that irradiates with Italian clearness the sward, the scattered trees, and the shadowy hills.

But we are attracted yet more forcibly towards the objects which present themselves in our close neighbourhood,—the fallen ruins of the city of the Consuls and Cæsars, the domes, palaces, and streets, of the


AUGUSTAN
REGIONS of the CITY
I. Porta Capena
II Cælimontana
III Isis et Serapis
IV Via Sacra
V Esqualina
VI Alta Semita
VII. Via Lata
VIII. Forum Romanum
IX Circus Flaminius
X Palatium
XI Circus Maximus
XII. Piscina Publica
Aventinus
Porta Flaminia
Porta Pincia
Porta Salara
Porta Nomentana
Porta Decumana Castrorum
Prætorian Camp
Pincian Mount
Gardens of Sallust
Tomb of Augustus
Hadrian's Mausoleum
Column of Antoninus
Pantheon
Campus Martius
Region IX
Theatre of Pompey
Tomb of Bibulus
Forum of Trajan
Circus Flaminius
Theatre of Marcellus
Porta Septimiana
Quirinal Mount
Region VI
Baths of Constantine
Forum of Nerva
Viminal Mount
Region V
Esquiline Mount
Baths of Titus
Region III
Region IV
Region VIII
Coleseum
Palatine
Region X
Cloaca
Vesta
Circus Maximus
Region XI
Porta Prænestina or Tiburtina
Minerva Medica
Porta Labicana or Prænestina
Amphitheatrum Castrense
Region XIV
Sublician Bridge
Porta Aurelia
Porta Portuensis
Cælian Mount
Region II
Temple of Claudius
Tullius
Servius
Wall of
Aventine Mount
XIII
Mons Testaceus
Pyramid of Cestius
Porta Ostiensis
Wharfs
Baths of Caracalla
Tomb of the Scipios
Arch of Drusus
Porta Metrovia
Porta Asinaria
Porta Appia

city of the Popes. On the north and west, immediately beyond the Tiber, the horizon is bounded by the Janiculan Mount and Monte Mario, crested with villas embosomed among pines and other evergreens. The former of these heights on the opposite side of the river, and the Pincian Mount on the nearer bank, form a semicircle, of which our position is the centre; and this area includes almost the whole of the modern town, the greater part of which, indeed, lies between us and the water's edge, covering the flat surface of the Campus Martius. The ancient city of the Seven Hills, beginning with the Capitoline Mount, amidst whose modern buildings we stand, is nearly all contained in the remaining semicircle, enclosed by the city walls. Almost every spot of it is desert: piles of shattered architecture rise amidst vineyards and rural lanes, exhibiting no token of habitation except some mouldering convents, villas, and cottages. But even the reign of destruction and decay has not quite obliterated the traces of Roman greatness.

At our feet, and directly in front of us, extend, amidst green turf sprinkled with trees, the Forum and the Sacred Way, on which we may fix our eye as a guiding line. Their triumphal arches and some splendid columns of their imperial temples are still erect, while, beyond the imposing vaults of Constantine's Basilica, the perspective of ruins is closed by the kingly mass of the Colosseum. On the right, this scene of perished grandeur is hedged by the Palatine Mount, the seat of the earliest settlement that bore the name of Rome, and now encumbered by the mighty terraces and prostrate fragments of the Palace of the Cæsars, and by the cypresses, the flowers, and the weeds of neglected gardens. Still farther to the right the rocky Aventine Hill rises from the river, steep, bare, and solitary, and surmounted by its secluded convent. Continuing the line of the Sacred Way and Colosseum till the eye reaches the city-wall, we see the church of St John Lateran closing the vista. The statued front of this edifice marks the extremity of the desolate Cælian Mount,

which, thence proceeding towards our station, communicates with the Palatine and Aventine. On the left of the Sacred Way and Colosseum lie the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal Hills. The first of these, which is the most distant, is a gentle eminence, almost uninhabited, on which we may distinguish the vaults of the palace of Titus. The flattish surface of the Viminal, which comes next, may be traced among the extreme buildings of the modern city; and still nearer us the palace and gardens of the Pope crown the heights of the thickly-peopled Quirinal.

Accumulated soil and rubbish have choked up the Forum to a depth of many feet, which may be estimated by a glance at the few monuments excavated to their bases; and similar vicissitudes have softened the aspect of those rugged mounts, amidst whose thickets of osiers and forests of oak and beech the dwellings of infant Rome were raised. To recall the primeval aspect of the spot, we must also figure a little lake in the deep valley between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, and another between the latter and the Aventine. In time these tarns were converted into marshes, and the most ancient ruin which remains to us was designed for carrying off their waters. The two valleys were drained,—the woods that overhung them disappeared, unless where sacred groves remained encircling the shrines of divinities,—the clusters of buildings grew larger and more numerous, and the steep acclivities, fortified in several places by earthen mounds or walls of stone, became the ramparts of the fastness.

The Latin settlement on the Palatine, whose foundation is ascribed to Romulus, speedily united with the Sabine colony of Tatius, covering the Capitoline and the Quirinal;* and after this event the joint town spread over the neighbouring eminences by a progress which we

* See vol. i. book ii. of the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,—a work already described, which, good in every section, is in its ancient topography of the city altogether unrivalled.

need not specifically trace, till we find all the Seven Hills embraced within a fortification which the legendary history ascribes to Servius Tullius. In the strongest quarters a simple wall seems to have been erected, which naturally disappeared without leaving any visible remains; but along the north-eastern side of the Quirinal, where the hill rose from the plain with a very gradual slope, the defence was formed for nearly a mile by the celebrated mound called the Agger of Servius, which is described as having been fifty feet in breadth, and fenced by a ditch at least an hundred feet wide by thirty in depth. Of this remarkable work some striking vestiges may still be seen in the grounds of the Villa Negroni, and in those of the Villa Barberini, in which latter, also, is the site of the Campus Sceleratus, where the unchaste Vestal Virgins, like Christian nuns in the middle ages, were buried alive. The circumference of the Servian town was about six miles.

With the increasing power of the republic the limits of Rome kept pace. The suburb of the Campus Martius, in particular, was gradually covered with public buildings, and became in the time of Augustus the most magnificent quarter of the most splendid city on earth. In the reigns of succeeding emperors, if the population did not increase, the edifices at least stretched out in more than one direction many furlongs into the plain. The ancient walls were lost among the new streets, but no repair or extension of them was ever contemplated. Rome had no enemy to dread, for all the nations of the world were her slaves. At length, nearly a thousand years after the supposed date of the first fortifications, the Emperor Aurelian (A. D. 271) commenced the erection of a new city-wall, which was completed by Probus five years afterwards. Repeated restorations have taken place from the days of Honorius and Belisarius down to those of Leo XII., and few portions of the lofty rampart which, twelve English miles in compass,* now

* Hobhouse's Illustrations of Childe Harold, p. 182.

encircles Rome, can be presumed to belong to the time of its original founders; though the circuit which the walls at present surround is substantially the same they enclosed under Aurelian, no material alteration having been made on the left bank of the Tiber.* On the other bank, these walls defended, like a little separate town, a part of the Janiculan Mount, comprehended within the modern quarter called the Trastevere; but the Vatican Hill with its plain continued to be excluded.

Servius Tullius is said to have divided his town into four regions, and no new division has been traced till the time of Augustus. This prince, as we have seen in another place, established a system of police, according to which the city contained fourteen Regions, embracing the whole extent then built upon, both without and within the Servian wall. It is impossible to determine exactly the boundaries of the district thus partitioned; but the measurement under Vespasian, as reported by Pliny, gives a circuit of thirteen Roman miles, which differs little from the modern lines within the ramparts. On the left bank of the Tiber, the Campus Martius and Pincian Mount were within the boundaries; and on the

* The dream of Vopiscus, adopted in the present day by the Italian Professor Nibby, that Aurelian's wall embraced a circumference of fifty miles, is fellow to the vision of Justus Lipsius, who gave the Augustan city a population of eight millions.—Rome has now sixteen gates, of which four are shut up: the existing walls are crested by numerous towers, and their height outside is about fifty feet, but inside little more than half. They are strengthened internally almost throughout by buttresses, supporting a continuous arcade. For details as to the walls, gates, and ancient divisions, consult the Beschreibung, vol. i. book ii. (with its comparative table), and book iv.; Nibby's Treatise on the Walls, or his edition of Nardini; Burton's Description of the Antiquities of Rome, 2 vols, 1828; or Burgess' Topography and Antiquities of Rome, 2 vols, 1831.—The annexed Map, besides indicating the principal ancient monuments, gives Aurelian's Walls with their Gates, and, within these, marks the circuit of the Rampart of Servius. In regard to this oldest fortification, however, the line at many places is very doubtful; and our Map, chiefly following Bunsen, will therefore be found to differ in several points from the opinions prevalent among the English topographers.

other bank were included not only the walled Janiculan quarter, but that of the Vatican Mount and its plain.

In tracing the vestiges of Roman magnificence, we must here be content to abandon all attempts at any thing like a complete enumeration of monuments. Our purpose will be served by a selection of those which best illustrate the history of the people; and in describing these we shall gain several advantages by following, with few exceptions, a chronological order.

The western and northern declivities of the Palatine present the chief scene of those poetical legends which glorify the birth of the city; but the grove and fountain of the Lupercal, the Ruminal fig-tree, the altar of Hercules, and the lakes of Curtius and Juturna, had vanished even before the times of the empire; and we smile without displeasure at the tradition still current, which calls a hollow in the Aventine cliffs the cave of the robber Cacus.

In the period of the Roman kings were executed several stupendous undertakings, of which only two now offer remains indubitably genuine. The vestiges of one of these, the Servian rampart, have been already noticed: the ruins of the other,—the Cloaca Maxima, or subterranean tunnel designed for draining the valleys at the foot of the Palatine,—rank among the most remarkable monuments of antiquity, from their impressive massiveness of construction, and their singularly perfect preservation after the lapse of twenty-four centuries. The part which can yet be traced runs from the old Velabrum to the river's bank, and presents a vault fourteen feet in width and as many in height, formed by a triple course of arches, composed of massy blocks chiefly of peperine, strengthened with masses of travertine, and exhibiting in some places substructions of tufo. A stream still flows through it, whose waters probably issue from the ancient fountain of Juturna. As the republican and imperial city increased, the sub-

ordinate sewers from several quarters of it were made to discharge themselves into this passage, which in its original state, commencing near the Forum, appears to have extended not less than a thousand feet. The Mamertine Prison of the first kings, to which a lower dungeon was added by Servius Tullius, may still be visited beneath the floor of the little church of San Giuseppe, on the declivity of the Capitoline Hill, behind the arch of Severus. From the upper chamber, hewn out of the tufo rock, and faced with uncemented blocks of peperine, a circular aperture communicates with the lower cell, and was the avenue by which persons condemned to death were thrust into this dreariest place of punishment. It is not quite certain, however, that the existing remains even of the under vault belong to the earliest period of these prisons ;* and the portion now accessible can have constituted only a small part of those state-dungeons which witnessed the execution of Jugurtha, of Catiline's accomplices, and of Sejanus, and where, if we could allow ourselves to believe the doubtful tradition still commemorated on the spot, St Peter and St Paul were also imprisoned.

In the sack of the city by the Gauls the edifices of its earlier republican era perished, and Rome had to be built anew.

The national works of the commonwealth after this epoch were numerous and extensive. Several aqueducts introduced streams of water for general use; the ponderous Appian Way served as a model for the causewayed Roman roads ; and streets of tombs on this and other highways in the neighbourhood received generation after generation of the citizens. Before the suppression of the republic we can enumerate with certainty upwards of fifty temples. Many honorary monuments arose ; numerous porticos in different places served either for business or recreation ; several public markets had

* Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, vol. i. p. 151.

been formed; seven of the buildings called Basilicæ had been constructed, each of which was used at once as a court of justice and a mercantile exchange; three Curiæ had been built for the meetings of public bodies; and for the general amusement there were four permanent theatres, besides the temporary theatres and amphitheatre of Curio and Julius Cæsar; while the ancient Circus Maximus had been renovated, and three other structures of the same kind erected.

It is melancholy to see how insignificant a portion of these works has survived the alterations executed by the emperors and the popes, and the devastations caused by wars and the lapse of ages.

At the foot of the Capitoline Hill, among modern houses of the lowest order, the Tomb of Bibulus, placed within the city in violation of the common rule, can be identified as a republican ruin; but the chief remains of this sort lie in the quarter where, from the modern gate of St Sebastian, the Appian Way passes out into the solitary plain. For a distance of about five miles the road is edged on both sides by ancient tombs. The entrance to the Servian town, however, lay considerably within the modern walls; and before we reach the Porta San Sebastiano, in our progress outwards, we find this street of graves to begin with the venerable Sepulchre of the Scipios. In one of the most sequestered spots we enter a vineyard, where, on the summit of a mound overgrown with shrubs and weeds, stands a mean dwelling-house; and at the foot of the eminence, a recent opening admits us to a subterranean vault of peperine, which, from inscriptions found within it in 1616 and 1780, is identified beyond a doubt as the burying-place of the heroic Cornelian family. Six sarcophagi were discovered in the chambers, with indications of a second story above that which has been opened, and remains also of a brick building of several apartments, which appears to have been constructed as an additional cemetery in the times of the emperors. Copies of the epitaphs have been placed on the walls; and in the Museum of the Vatican are seen the

original sarcophagi and inscriptions, commemorating two Scipios from the fifth century of the city,* one from the sixth, and four from the seventh. But the greatest of the race, Scipio Africanus the elder, did not lay his bones beside those of his fathers; nor is there any sufficient ground for the opinion which considers a small laurelled bust discovered in the tomb, as representing the poet Ennius, the friend of the younger Africanus.

Without the gate several tombs belong to the republican period, the most remarkable being the celebrated edifice which was the grave of Cecilia Metella, the wife of Crassus. This relic of the last days of the commonwealth contrasts strikingly with the unobtrusive simplicity of the older sepulchre of the Scipios. It consists of a round tower, about sixty-four feet in diameter, regularly constructed, and faced with the yellow travertine stone. It is ornamented with a festooned frieze and cornice, and rests on a ponderous square basement. Its strong position on an eminence recommended it in the middle ages to the honour of serving, like so many others of the ancient monuments, as a fortress of the Roman barons; and the walls of the Gaetani still join the classical parts of the structure. Another tomb in the last stage of ruin, two miles beyond the tower of Metella, has been ascertained by an inscription which Canova discovered in 1808, to be the sepulchre of the Servilian family, one of those austere republican buildings to which, with the tomb of the Scipios, Cicero proudly points, as a theme of reflection fitted to protect the living from their natural fear of annihilation by death.†

Of the republican Temples the antiquaries can point out only the following, and that with a hesitation which is but too justifiable:—the small temple of Fortuna Virilis,

* Lucius Scipio Barbatus (Consul A. U. 456), "A brave man and wise," and his son Lucius (Consul 494), whose epitaph proclaims him "The best of Rome's most worthy citizens." HONC. OINO. PLOIRVME. CONSENTIONT. R. BUONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO.: that is, in the later Roman spelling, "Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romani bonorum optimum fuisse virum."

† Cic. Quæstion. Tusculan. lib. i. cap. 7.

now transformed into the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca,—the temples of Juno Matuta, Hope, and Piety, hidden in the walls of San Nicola in Carcere,*—and, perhaps, in the cloisters of the Somaschi, four broken pillars of the temple of Hercules Custos, the guardian of the Circus Flaminius.†

Of the Circus Maximus we can still trace the shape, in the hollow between the Palatine and Aventine, but the structure has entirely disappeared; and the Flaminian Circus is now completely covered by the buildings of the modern city, around the church of Santa Caterina de' Funari, while the Piazza Barberini is supposed to occupy the site of the Circus of Flora. Of the Theatre of Pompey, the foundation arches may be seen in the cellars and stables of the Palazzo Pio; and it is only necessary to name some remnants of the breastwork of the ancient Quay, and of similar erections on the Island in the river.

The substructions on the Capitoline Mount are almost the only other architectural vestiges of the republic. These ruins consist, first, of about eighty feet of peperino wall, under the Palazzo Caffarelli, on the southern summit of the hill, where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is generally believed to have stood; and, secondly, of the vaults under the Senator's Palace on the Intermontium, or flat between the two summits, the external wall of these vaults being visible from the Forum, and being ascertained by an inscription to have belonged to the Tabularium or Record-office. On the northern summit stands the Franciscan Church of Ara Celi, where once stood the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; but, unless some ancient columns in the nave were really found on the spot, there exist no remains of the original shrine. While these fragments recall to us the citadel

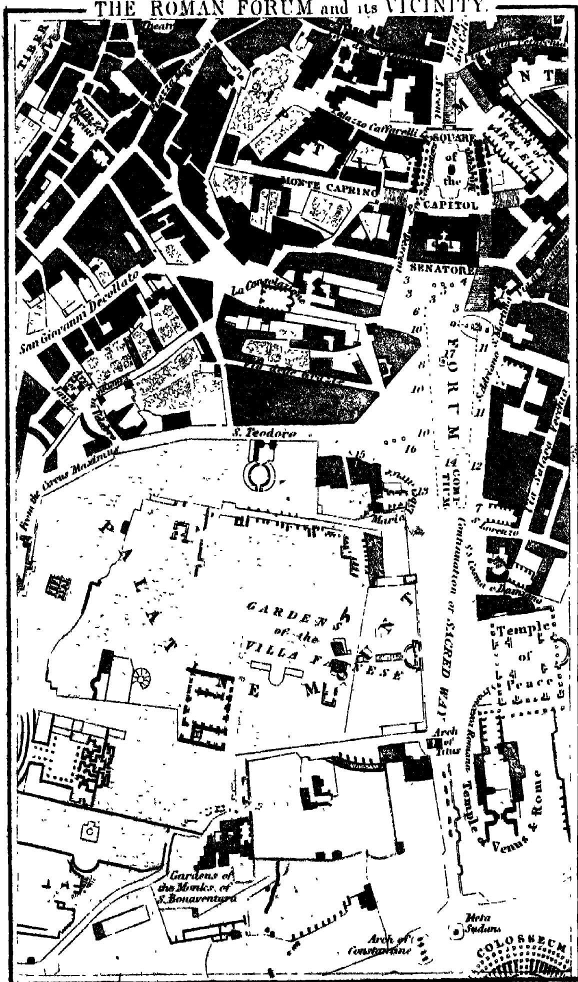
* For the Temple of Piety,—which, if identified, ascertains the site of the Decemviral Prisons,—we owe gratitude to antiquarian zeal, which here as elsewhere has lighted the flame on the altar of poetry:—

"There is a dungeon in whose dim drear light
What do I gaze on? Nothing!—Look again!"

† Burgess' Rome, vol. ii. p. 116.

of Rome and of the world, we have all but lost the fatal Tarpeian Rock, amidst the accumulated rubbish which has gathered about the foot of the hill, and the clusters of old and wretched hovels which encumber its southern top. However, on the side nearest to the modern city, one portion of the rock is visible; and on the opposite side, descending through the houses of the Monte Caprino, we can overlook, from among the roses of a little garden, a cliff overhanging the Forum, full seventy feet in height, which may fairly represent the "traitor's leap." One is glad to escape from the perilous task of determining to which of the two summits belonged one or both of the titles of Citadel and Capitol,—Arx et Capitolium. But the Asylum of Romulus unquestionably occupied the intermediate hollow, now covered by Michel Angelo's splendid square of palaces, the approaches to which have, on the side of the Campus Martius, destroyed the original steepness of the ascent.

But must we abandon the topography of the Republic without having discovered any vestige of the Roman Forum? Our real knowledge of this celebrated spot may be nearly summed up in a single sentence. Of its republican buildings there probably is not one stone standing upon another; and even of its site we know only this: that a space may be pointed out, beneath the Capitoline and Palatine Mounts, within which it undeniably lay; but we can neither tell with precision what portion of the ground it occupied, nor can we fix with certainty more than one or two of its boundaries. The spot is now called the Campo Vaccino or Cattle Field. It is a small, irregular plain, raised by accumulations of rubbish above the ancient pavement, to a height which is nowhere less than fifteen feet, and in some places approaches thirty. An avenue of trees runs obliquely along the area, a large part of which is unenclosed ground, clothed with green sward, from which a few columns and other imperial ruins rise here and there; around some of these are excavations, still in progress,



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forming deep unsightly pits, but laying bare large portions of the old foundations; and the rest of the space is covered by other relics of the empire, interspersed among modern churches and one or two paltry streets.

In passing, however, to the topography of Imperial Rome, this classical hollow may properly invite a deviation from strict chronological order.*

Upon that declivity of the Capitoline Rock which faces the Forum are several interesting monuments. The Clivus Asyli, one of the two paths which led up from the plain, passed the Mamertine Prison at 1 on the accompanying map. The other path, the Clivus Capitolinus, which was a part of the Sacred Way, passed through the Arch of Septimius Severus at 2, and may be conceived as slanting up the hill in the direction 3, 3. Of the three celebrated ruins on the slope, one only, standing at 4, can be identified with certainty. It presents but a basement, partly covered by the modern ascent, and belongs to an imperial Temple of Concord, which rose in the place of the republican shrine so celebrated under the same name. The three fine Corinthian columns at 5, supporting a rich entablature, are usually assigned to a Temple of Jupiter Tonans; though there are better grounds for Niebuhr's opinion, which declares them to be parts of the Temple of Saturn. There is more reason for doubt as to the tasteless portico, farther down the hill, at 6, which has been oftenest called a Temple of Fortune, but more recently a Temple of Vespasian.

We now descend into the plain, the tourney-place of the opposing antiquaries, in whose books the Roman Forum has several times shifted its situation. The earliest

* The current opinions of those antiquaries who have not enjoyed the benefit of the recent discoveries are best represented in Nibby's Foro Romano, and in the Seventh Dissertation of Burgess' Rome. The results of the partial excavations which, within the last few years, have been so wonderfully successful, are stated minutely in the third volume of the Beschreibung, especially in its second part, published in 1838. The accompanying plan of this quarter of Rome, in its modern state, will, it is hoped, make the description in the text more easily intelligible.

topographers, after the revival of the science, considered its length to extend from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Arch of Fabius, now destroyed, which stood in front of the space afterwards occupied by the Temple of Antoninus, at 7. But in the middle of the seventeenth century there was propounded an opinion, the popular one at the present day, which takes that line for the breadth of the forum, and finds its other angles at the church of San Teodoro (covering the site of the Temple of Romulus), and near the church of the Madonna della Consolazione. The space enclosed by the lines thus terminated is a rectangle about 700 feet by nearly 600. Niebuhr, however, peremptorily returned to the older hypothesis; and Bunsen has most skilfully turned recent discoveries to account, in developing a theory founded on this suggestion of his master.

The leading peculiarity of Niebuhr's view is this;—that he insists on our considering the Comitium of the Republic to have been, not a building, as is usually supposed, but merely an uncovered space, forming a part of the Forum, but separated from the remainder by dwarf-walls or other barricades. In applying this theory to the ground, Bunsen founds mainly on the assumption,—which is fully warranted by the proof,—that a flight of steps, excavated in the end of 1834 in the open space of the plain, at 8 on the map, belonged to the Basilica Julia, so named from its founder the Dictator. That discovery, indeed, and the previous uncovering of the Milliarium Aureum or Golden Milestone of Augustus, at 9, are invaluable facts for those who study the antiquities of the spot.

We must, then, according to our guide, consider the Roman Forum as an oblong area, considerably wider at the end nearest the Capitol than at the other, narrowing indeed from 180 feet to about 110, while its length is about 600. The boundaries are laid off with dotted lines upon the plan. Nearly a third of the narrowest part, farthest from the rock, was, as we are told, the Comitium; the remainder, separated from it by an offshoot

of the Sacred Way, was the Forum in its most confined sense, the ordinary place of meeting for the plebeians.

In its earliest history, under the kings, this classical spot presented an open space, interrupted by nothing except the Ruminal Fig-tree and those other monuments which stood in the Comitium; and round it were the porticoes and shops, which Livy describes the elder Tarquinius as allowing to be there erected. Those on the southern side, on the line marked 10, 10, were, according to Bunsen, the old shops (veteres tabernæ), among which we must seek the scene of Virginia's murder; the "novæ tabernæ" extended along the north side, on the line 11, 12. These buildings were in time renewed and ornamented, and at length made room for the Basilicæ, the first of which, the Basilica Porcia, was founded in the middle of the sixth century of the city. The Fulvia came next; the Æmilia followed; and these two, having been subjected to extensive alterations, came to bear jointly the name of the latter. The Æmilia and Porcia stood on the north side of the Forum: on the south side, at 8, rose another building of the same sort, the Basilica Sempronia. But between the Porcia and the Comitium, nearly at the spot marked 12, Bunsen supposes the Curia Hostilia to have been; while he places the Temple of Vesta on the opposite side, at 13, in front of the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice. In the period now spoken of, the Rostra stood, according to him, at one end of the Comitium, about the point 14.

In the year 698 the Curia Hostilia was burned to the ground, and Julius Cæsar profited by the accident for transforming the place into a new and more splendid shape. He enabled Paulus Æmilius to complete the Basilica which bore the name of his family; and he himself founded his Basilica Julia on the site of the Sempronia, transferring the Rostra likewise to a position in front of his new building. His successor executed another of his plans, the erection of a noble hall for the senate instead of that which had perished in the conflagration; and Bunsen maintains that we see the remains of the edifice which Augustus so constructed, in that

massive pile of brick (15) behind the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, which the antiquaries more commonly refer to the older Curia. In connexion with this edifice, also, he ingeniously places the celebrated Three Columns of marble, which occupy (at 16 on the plan) the most conspicuous position in the open space. They are singularly fine specimens of the Corinthian order, supporting an ornate yet well-proportioned entablature; and late examinations have exhibited them as belonging to an extensive and admirably-planned building, whose name, date, and purpose have hardly been stated alike by any two antiquaries.* Our author assigns them to an edifice built by Augustus, which was styled sometimes the Chalcidicum, and sometimes a Temple of Minerva, but which, at all events, communicated with the Curia of Julius. The Temple of Castor and Pollux is supposed by Bunsen to have stood between the Three Columns and the Basilica Julia.

The Forum, thus for the second time built by Julius and Augustus, suffered severely in Nero's conflagration. Domitian and others erected new edifices, of which the Temple of Vespasian and that of Antoninus are the only ones that have left remarkable ruins; and we next reach a period in which the corner nearest to the Capitol became the site of a multitude of monuments. The Arch of Septimius Severus is the most conspicuous among these efforts of decaying art; another (at 17 on the plan) is the "nameless column with a buried base," which, no longer either nameless or buried, has been proved, by the inscription on its pedestal, to have been erected in the year of grace 608, in honour of the eastern usurper Phocas, having been stolen for that purpose from some edifice of a better time. Three shapeless bases, near this pillar, belong to the same era; as does also, in all probability, a structure somewhat resembling the Rostra, which may be observed between the Arch of Severus and the Temple of Vespasian.

* See Burgess' Rome, vol. i. note, p. 356; and Dublin Review, No. IX.

Here, in the earliest stage of the dark ages, we leave the Roman Forum for a while, to observe the adjoining monuments of the classical times.

No light is thrown on the topography or arrangements of the Forum Romanum by the other great Fora which lay on the north and east in its immediate neighbourhood. The Forum of Julius Cæsar is built over, and its exact site not well ascertained; those of Augustus and Nerva have left some noble ruins, but their place, choked up by streets, is with difficulty distinguishable; and that of Trajan, the finest of all, was intended for purposes quite different from those that were served by the republican prototype. We may, therefore, without in the mean time turning aside to these, finish our survey of the Campo Vaccino.

Proceeding from the site of the Arch of Fabius towards the Colosseum, we leave the Forum, and find ourselves on the Sacred Way. On our right rises the Palatine Hill: on our left lie several ruins of much magnificence. We first encounter the circular Temple of Remus, an imperial work, which is now formed into the vestibule of a church, dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian. This building is followed by one of the most imposing remnants of ancient grandeur, which is usually called the Temple of Peace; but is really, as has been clearly established, a Basilica, erected, or rather completed, by Constantine. Three huge vaulted roofs, fretted with coffers, standing side by side, face the road; and recent levellings, laying open the ground-plan of the edifice, show that these composed one side of a rectangular building divided into three aisles, and enclosing a space of 300 feet by 230. The ascending road next leads us to the Arch of Titus, the oldest and most elegant of those triumphal edifices now remaining. It possesses an especial interest as having been erected in commemoration of the fall of Jerusalem, the sacred things of whose temple are still seen figured on its frieze.

Immediately beyond this melancholy monument are the ruins of the double Temple of Venus and Rome,

built, and even planned, by Hadrian, and still exhibiting, notwithstanding the criticism for which the imperial artist punished the architect Apollodorus with death, the vestiges of an excellent plan, and of great richness of execution. On a rectangular basement elevated twenty-six feet above the surrounding level, and approached by broad staircases at each end, was placed an inner platform raised on seven marble steps, and supporting the temple, round which ran a colonnade 360 feet in length by 175 in width. Within this peristyle rose the walls of the cella, which was entered at each end, by a portico of marble columns leading into a vestibule. The building was divided in the midst by a cross wall, and facing each of the porticos was a vaulted and fretted niche, in which sat respectively the statues of the two divinities to whom the fane was dedicated. Excavations have discovered very splendid fragments, and allowed the plan to be distinctly traced; but no part of the temple remains erect except the two niches and portions of the two cellæ.*

The Sacred Way is believed, after quitting the Forum at the Arch of Fabius, to have passed through that of Titus, and thence to the fountain called the Meta Sudans, which stands in front of the Colosseum. In its course from this last point, round the Palatine and through the Circus Maximus, it assumed the title of the Via Triumphalis, from the processions to which it was dedicated.

We may now resume our historical sketch of the vicissitudes of the city.

The magnificence of Imperial Rome expanded at once under its first emperor, who, with equal liberality, dedicated the public wealth and his own private fortune to the embellishment of his metropolis, while his example stimulated several of the leading men in the state, parti-

* For an ingenious and instructive restoration of this temple by Pardini, an Italian architect, see Burgess' Rome, vol. i., or the Beschreibung, vol. iii. part 1., and its plates.

cularly Mæcenas and the enterprising Agrippa. Of the edifices of the Augustan period, we still see very remarkable remains, including some of the finest monuments of the city, and one temple the most admired of all.

On the Palatine Hill Augustus erected the earliest Palace of the Cæsars. The dwellings of Hortensius the orator, and the demagogue Clodius, together with Cicero's house overlooking the Forum, made way for this magnificent mansion, with its temples, porticos, and libraries. Of a Forum designed by the same emperor, between the Roman Forum and the foot of the Quirinal Hill, there remain, at the Arco de' Pantani, 500 or 600 feet of a lofty, strong, and nicely finished wall, with columns supposed to have belonged to a temple of Mars the Avenger, constructed within the area. No fewer than eighty-five republican temples were rebuilt during the same prince's reign. But his exertions were chiefly directed to the embellishment of the Campus Martius; and accordingly, it is amidst the streets of the Papal city that we have to search for the relics of his time. The fallen ruins which filled up the interior of the Theatre of Marcellus, have raised huge mounds on which is built the Orsini Palace; and of the external walls, converted into a fortress in the twelfth century, there still stands a portion transformed into dirty shops, and presenting, to the extent of eleven arches, both stories of the ancient elevation. These remains have excited the admiration of architects: the Ionic of the upper story is positively good, and the Doric of the under one is recognised as the best specimen of the indifferent form given by the Romans to that severe order.* The Portico of Octavia was one of the most splendid of the Augustan structures, and became a treasure-house of ancient art, containing many of the most exquisite paintings and statues of the Greek artists.† It was a rectangular peristyle, entered by a magnificent vestibule, and containing two fine temples,

* Woods, Letters of an Architect, vol. i. p. 351.

† Plinii Historia Naturalis, lib. xxxiv. cap. 6. Lib. xxxv. cap. 10. Lib. xxxvi. cap. 5.

besides other buildings. Its remains stand near to the theatre of Marcellus, in and beside the modern fish-market. They consist chiefly of three columns of the temple of Juno, and of a portion of the vestibule, which was originally formed by two Corinthian colonnades of marble, having four columns and two pilasters in each, and supporting an entablature and pediment. Four of the columns and all the pilasters are still erect, with a part of the supported members.

The vastness which, even in the last age of the republic, had begun to distinguish the sepulchral architecture of Rome, is proved to have subsisted in the Augustan period by several of the tombs on the Appian Way, the most remarkable of which, the Columbarium, or common sepulchre of the household of Livia, has been wantonly destroyed since the middle of last century;* and the same fact is attested by that huge and gloomy Pyramid which is built up in the city wall, near the gate of St Paul, transmitting to us the name of the obscure Roman Caius Cestius, and casting its shadow over the solitary and beautiful burying-ground of the Protestants. But in a mean quarter of the modern city we find the Mausoleum of Augustus himself, now a shapeless heap of ruins, the interior of which has been converted into an amphitheatre, where are exhibited bull-fights, fireworks, horsemanship and rope-dancing. Strabo describes this building as the most remarkable object in the Campus Martius, as surrounded by a wood with shady walks, raised on a lofty substruction of white stone, planted to its summit with evergreens, crowned by a bronze statue of the emperor, and containing receptacles for his ashes, with those of his kindred and household.

Agrippa's works vied both in splendour and utility with those of his master. He decorated the city with 700 wells, and 105 fountains; he constructed a series of sewers in the Campus Martius; and he erected a hall

* Venuti, Roma Antica, tom. ii. p. 9. Ed. 1763.

for the mock assemblies of the people. But his other undertakings are eclipsed by his Thermæ or Baths, and his celebrated Temple, usually called the Pantheon, which was connected with the former buildings, or composed a part of them. The Thermæ of this age gave the hint for those vast edifices which the emperors afterwards constructed for the use of the people under the same name, but with a far wider extension of purpose. Little is known as to Agrippa's baths, except their position among the streets now covering the Campus Martius; and the insignificant remains which exist throw no light on their plan.

The Pantheon, according to the inscription on its frieze, was dedicated in the year of the city 727, and was afterwards restored by Hadrian and Septimius Severus. Its consecration (A. D. 608) as a Christian church, under the title of Santa Maria Rotonda, has preserved, for the admiration of the modern world, this most beautiful of heathen fanes. It is situated in the filthy herb-market; the flight of steps which led up to its portico is nearly buried in rubbish; two hideous modern belfries deform its summit; emperors, Saracens, and popes, have successively plundered it of its bronzes and marbles; and the floods of the Tiber periodically inundate its floor. But through degradation, nakedness, and disfigurement, its serene beauty shines out undimmed; and its name is still the synonyme of architectural perfection. The faultless proportions and striking effect of the portico which fronts the temple, while they cannot be unfelt even by the unprofessional visitant, are most duly valued by the architect; but, in the interior, every mind which possesses the faculties that appreciate art, must at the same time be entranced and awed.

The portico is formed by sixteen Corinthian columns of granite, with bases and capitals of Grecian marble. Eight of these stand in front, supporting an entablature, above which rises a pediment, once adorned with bas-reliefs. Through a short vestibule, supported by fluted marble antæ and pilasters, we enter the Cell, which con-

sists of a circular drum sustaining a dome. On the marble door-way hang magnificent gates of bronze, which are probably those of an ancient temple. The pavement of the interior is composed of porphyry and marble, disposed in large alternate slabs. The drum or upright wall, contains seven large niches; while small ones occur in the intermediate spaces, as well as in the larger recesses. Columns of pavonazzetto and giallo antico flank the main niches; and above these a beautiful and perfectly preserved cornice runs round the whole building. Over a second story in the drum, formed by an attic sustaining an upper cornice, rises the beautiful dome, which is divided internally into square pannels, now plastered with stucco, but supposed to have been originally inlaid with bronze; and in the centre of it a circular aperture admits the only light which the place receives. Christian altars now fill the recesses of the temple of Jupiter the Avenger; and beneath one of these shrines reposes the dust of Raffaelle d'Urbino.*

Either to the Augustan age or to the last days of the republic seem to belong the remains of a temple and circus, which stood in the beautiful grounds of the historian Sallust, on the Pincian Hill, named from them the Mount of Gardens. To the former age, too, we may perhaps refer the romantic grotto, which, beyond the walls in the green and wooded valley of the Almo, recalls the poetical legend of Numa's intercourse with the nymph Egeria.

The reign of Tiberius is chiefly distinguished in the topography of Rome by the erection of a camp by Sejanus for the Prætorian guards. This huge barrack became truly the citadel of Rome; three of its sides were taken into the rampart of Aurelian, and the camp was dismantled and its fourth wall thrown down by

* Dimensions:—Height of columns in portico, 46½ English feet; diameter of shafts, 5; height of door-way, 39; width, 19:—Internal diameter of dome, 143; internal height from the ground the same, of which height the dome occupies one-half.—Taylor and Cressy's Rome, 1821.

Constantine. In the Villa Macao, a vineyard of the Jesuits, we still see remarkable specimens of the arches of Tiberius, interspersed with the hasty work of Belisarius' fortification, and with modern additions.*

Caligula extended the buildings of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, joining that hill to the Capitol by a bridge; and the unfortunate Claudius erected aqueducts, of which there are noble remains at the Porta Maggiore, where operations in 1838 uncovered a curious tomb built up in the imperial brickwork.

From Augustus to Nero, the eastern quarter of the city was the favourite residence of the nobles, whose mansions, placed beyond the old walls, stood in gardens between the great roads. In this district was the palace of Mæcenas, and that of the Laterani, destined to be so celebrated in Christian Rome. An inferior class now occupied the three streets, which alone, till the end of this period, deserved the name. These were the Via Sacra, the Carinæ, and the Suburra, the two latter of which had been in the republican times the aristocratic quarter.

But every thing that had been done for the embellishment of the city was surpassed by the extravagantly magnificent undertakings of Nero. The circus in the region of the Vatican, founded by Caligula, and completed by him, is covered by the sacristy and part of the church of St Peter, and was, beyond a doubt, the scene of the earliest Christian martyrdoms in Rome.† His public market has disappeared, and his splendid baths lie buried beneath modern palaces near the College of the Sapienza. The Domus Transitoria, which formed his first addition to the palace of the Cæsars, was destroyed by the frightful conflagration which he is charged with having wilfully kindled, and which, burning to the ground three of the fourteen regions of

* The circuit of its three remaining sides measures in all 5400 feet.—Burgess, vol. ii. p. 306.

† Suetonius in Nerone, cap. 22. Taciti Annalium, lib. xiv. cap. 14; lib. xv. cap. 44. Compare the Beschreibung, vol. ii. part 1. pp. 13, &c.

the city, and almost entirely ruining seven more,* produced a reconstruction of Rome under the emperor's plans and superintendence. The streets were made for the first time wide and straight, and were lined with colonnades; and the height of dwelling-houses, then restricted to seventy feet, was afterwards limited to sixty.

But the elegance of all the new fabrics was eclipsed by the pomp of Nero's huge palace, called the Golden House. On the southern shoulder of the Palatine, where it approaches the Esquiline, stood the main buildings of that mansion, fronted by a vestibule admitting the emperor's colossal statue, which was probably placed somewhere on the site now occupied by Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome. The picturesquely wooded grounds extended over a large portion of the Cælian Mount, where, marked by the cypress thicket and the solitary palm-tree of the Passionist convent, massy remains are supposed to belong to the celebrated reservoir; the artificial lakes of the park filled the valley of the Colosseum; and its lodges and walks rose on the Esquiline Hill, displacing the house, tomb, and gardens of Mæcenas, of which, as well as of Nero's erections, the ruins probably exist amidst the later buildings of the Baths of Titus.†

Vespasian and his virtuous successor have bequeathed to us these latter monuments, together with the Colosseum or Flavian Amphitheatre.

Titus demolished a great part of the stupendous piles of Nero, and availed himself of their substructions on the Esquiline, for the erection of those buildings which still stretch out their intricate corridors on the heights overlooking the Colosseum. From the form of these remains, and from that of the separate reservoir called the Sette Salle, it cannot be doubted that baths constituted, at all events, a part of their plan; but the design of the edifice, founded on older works, and altered and

* Taciti Annal. lib. xv. cap. 40. Beschreibung, vol. i. part 1. p. 185-191.

† Beneath these latter ruins, too, lies the grave of Horace.—Sueton. in Vitâ Horatii.

extended by the later emperors, especially Trajan, is not easily comprehended, and is even supposed to have been an imperial residence. Its remains, though very striking, have owed their chief interest to the beautiful paintings they yet contain.

The Flavian Amphitheatre, the boast of Rome and of the world, founded by Vespasian, was completed and dedicated by Titus in the eightieth year of our era, ten years after the taking of Jerusalem. It received successive additions, alterations, and repairs, till the time of Theodoric the Goth, who fitted it up for its former uses in the year 519; during the middle ages, it was occupied as a fortress by Roman nobles; in the fifteenth century, its materials began to be used for the buildings of Papal Rome, a spoliation which continued two hundred years;* and after a long period of neglect and decay, it was consecrated, in 1750, to the memory of those Christian martyrs who had perished in its arena. Since that time it has been protected from pillage by the reverence due to the crucifix which occupies its centre, to the fourteen stations of prayer which are disposed round its arena, and to the soldiers who sentinel its gates; and during the present century, noble walls have been built by the Popes to prop up the tottering portions of the fabric.

The gigantic edifice is in form an ellipse; and its external elevation consisted of four stories, presenting 240 arches in all. These were disposed in the three lower stories, each of which had eighty arches, supported by half-columns, Doric in the first range, Ionic in the second, and Corinthian in the third; while the fourth story had externally a solid wall, faced with Corinthian pilasters, and lighted by forty rectangular windows. Of this

* The materials of the amphitheatre were used in at least the following buildings:—the Palace of St Mark (A. D. 1470); the Palace of the Chancery (1494); some buildings in the Capitol and elsewhere (1531—1604.—Hobhouse, p. 275); the immense Farnese Palace (1535); and the Barberini Palace (1623), commemorated in the Roman saying, "What the Barbarians did not, the Barberini did."—See Gibbon, chap. 71.

majestic circuit, scarcely a half now presents its original height; and throughout a great part of it the travertine arcades are demolished, and the rough wall inside, partially erect, and tangled with grass and shrubs, is covered by the modern support. In the interior, the centre is occupied by the oval Arena, under which subterraneous constructions have been lately discovered, apparently designed for the gladiators, wild beasts, and other apparatus of the spectacles. Round the arena, and resting on a huge mass of arches rising upon arches, the sloping seats for the spectators, forming the division called the Cavea, ascend towards the summit of the external wall. The Podium, or covered gallery for the emperor and persons of the first rank, formed the lowest partition of the cavea; behind which rise three successive orders of seats, separated by perpendicular walls (the præcinctiones or balthei); and, above all, an upper gallery reached to the vela, or moveable awning which covered in the whole. This attic, and the uppermost row of seats, have disappeared; the second range has been partially preserved; the lowest is nearly perfect; but the podium is in a ruinous state, and appears to be an addition made by some one of the many restorers. The Regionaries say that the Amphitheatre contained places for 87,000 spectators.* Architects have professed to discover in the Colosseum little that is worthy of admiration, except the vastness of its dimensions; but on those who do not pause to calculate by rules of art the impression produced by the mighty ruin is altogether overpowering.

Passing over Domitian's additions to the Palatine Palace, and just noticing the Forum erected by Nerva, close to that of Augustus, of which some striking remains are yet visible, we reach the glorious reign of Trajan. The Funeral Pillar of this wise sovereign, and the fragments

* Amphitheatrum quod capit loca lxxxvii millia. Publius Victor in Region. Urbis; in Grævii Thesauro, tom. iii.—Dimensions:—Superficial area, nearly six acres; major axis, 620 English feet; minor axis, 513 (counted to outside); height of outer wall, 157; arena, length, 287, width, 180.—Taylor and Cressy.

of his Basilica, still bear witness to the splendour of his Ulpian Forum, of which they are the relics. The site of the forum is chiefly covered by modern houses and streets; but a space around the column was excavated by the French to the depth of the ancient pavement, and allows us to trace the plan of the Basilica Ulpia. The column stood in the midst of an oblong court, two sides of which were enclosed by a double colonnade, while one of its extremities was formed by a lateral wall of the Basilica. Besides a portico in the middle of the side opposite the column, the Basilica, like the adjacent square, had a double colonnade dividing its interior; and the fragments of the fine shafts of Egyptian granite, which at present stand nearly in their original places, show the height of each to have been about fifty-five feet. The admiration excited in the ancient world by this magnificent establishment, with its basilica, its libraries, its temples, and its triumphal arch (plundered or destroyed by Constantine), is justified by the existing ruins, and by the perfection of the Funeral Pillar, the most beautiful mausoleum which greatness ever received. The proportions of this gigantic column are excellent; and its series of bas-reliefs contains 2500 human figures, which run in a spiral course up the shaft, and represent the emperor's victories. A bronze colossal statue of Trajan, who has now given way to St Peter, surmounted the capital, and the ashes of this good prince reposed in an urn of gold, supposed to have been placed in the hand of the figure.*

The taste of Hadrian inclined him to the foreign and the immense. His Temple of Venus and Rome, already described, appears to have been the purest of his edifices: the city of palaces and temples, of which the ruins yet remain in his Villa at Tivoli, was an exaggeration of the solidity and dimensions of the Egyptian architecture; and his celebrated Mausoleum, which is at this day the citadel and state prison of the Popes, testifies at once the

* Height of the column 126 feet, besides the statue.

perfect manual skill possessed by the architects of his time, and their accomplished master's acquaintance with the pyramids of Memphis. The fine bridge, the Pons Ælius, now the Ponte St Angelo, which he built across the Tiber as the avenue to his sepulchre, still remains nearly in its original form, and is the only one of the eight ancient bridges of Rome which has left any vestige worth tracing.* The strong situation of the mausoleum on the bank of the river made it, from the latter days of the empire, one of the most important military positions about the city; and in the prodigious round tower which now rises on our view, encompassed by modern outworks, and crested by battlements and the armed statue of the Archangel Michael, we can trace little of the Moles Hadriani, which received the ashes of so many Roman emperors. Operations, however, executed since 1825, have brought to light extremely interesting particulars regarding its construction. The building was circular, like the modern tower, and rested on a square basement. Its solid mass contained at most two small sepulchral chambers in the centre, which were reached by spiral passages; the under one, which is still accessible, was lighted by two windows perforated in the thickness of the wall, while the galleries received light through deep perpendicular pyramidal openings; the internal workmanship is of the very best kind, and traces remain of a remarkable richness of ornament.†

The Antonines have left us the structures already noticed in the Forum,—the colonnade of the Temple of Antoninus Pius, now walled up in the papal Custom-

* Some of our English antiquaries represent the bridge as rebuilt by Nicholas V., having, it is said, been destroyed in the jubilee of 1450. Bunsen's assertion, that the accident of that year, in which were lost 200 lives, produced no effect on the bridge, except inducing the Pope to take down the booths which covered it like the shops on Old London Bridge, is quite borne out by his authorities:—Stephani Infessuræ, Senatus Populique Romani Scribæ, Diarium Urbis Romæ; apud Eccardum, Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi, Lipsiæ, 1723; tom. ii. pp. 1885, 1886;—Platina de Vitis Pontificum, in Nicolao V.

† Beschreibung, vol. ii. part 1. p. 404-422, with plans.

house,—and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Citoria, an inferior copy from that of Trajan. We might perhaps refer to the same period the beautiful circle of columns round the little church of Santa Maria del Sole on the Tiber bank, usually styled the Temple of Vesta; and the picturesque and sequestered decagonal ruin on the Esquiline, which is known as the Temple of Minerva Medica.

From this period to the reign of Constantine, the most remarkable buildings of which we possess remains are, besides several honorary arches, the Baths of Caracalla and those of Diocletian. Both edifices, though in utter decay, are amongst the most immense and striking architectural monuments in Rome. In general arrangement they nearly resemble each other; and in them we behold fully developed the luxury of those establishments, the peace-offerings of despots to a degraded people. The Baths of Diocletian possess a religious interest, from the tradition of their having been mainly built by Christian slaves during the celebrated persecution; and this circumstance, leading to the consecration of parts of them, has preserved several of their buildings, particularly the spacious halls converted into the rich church of the Angioli. The low state of art, however, at that time, renders it useless to look for any great architectural merit in those ruins; and the Baths of Caracalla at once lead us back to a higher stage of art, and, in the midst of their nakedness, afford a more distinct notion of their plan and execution. This immense fabric lay on the south-eastern slope of the Aventine, and was about a mile in circumference. It was not completed till the time of Alexander Severus; and the writers of the period describe in rapturous terms the splendour of its construction and decorations. The Baths consisted, first, of an extensive quadrilateral edifice, chiefly devoted to the purpose which gives name to the establishment; this edifice had around it an open space, of which a part was appropriated as an arena for races and similar recreations; the whole was surrounded by a quadrilateral range

of buildings of various construction, some being evidently reservoirs for the baths, and others being meant as seats for spectators; several halls and porticos appear to have served as academies, lecture-rooms, or places for gymnastic exercises; and the use of an infinite number of small apartments in the external quarters can only be conjectured. The walls of the fine hall, once vaulted, which forms the centre of the internal building, still remain; we may wander through a labyrinth of other chambers, and ascend by a broken staircase to the summit; and every where the statues, urns, mosaics, and other decorations, which have been excavated for centuries, attest the magnificence of the imperial murderer and his successors.*

From the age of Constantine we have the Circus on the Via Appia, noticeable as the only specimen of that kind of structure which has left any considerable remains. In the beautiful gardens of the Colonna Palace on the steep ascent of the Quirinal, are extensive ruins, consisting of walls, vaults, and porticos, belonging to the same emperor's Baths. Among them lie several fragments, two of which, being portions of a cornice and pediment, are inexplicable from their vastness of size. Constantine's Basilica has been already noticed; and his Triumphal Arch, beside the Colosseum, is chiefly remarkable for having been constructed from the plundered materials of the Arch of Trajan, the bas-reliefs of which adorn it at this day. Constantine's mother, the Englishwoman Helena, erected Baths, of which insignificant remains may be seen near the church of Santa Croce.

Between the foundation of Constantinople and the fall of the Western Empire, the deserted metropolis of Italy suffered a gradual and uninterrupted decline. We read of scarcely any new structures except Christian churches, some of which were formed by altering imperial basilicæ,

* It is enough to name the Torso of the Belvedere, the trunk of the Farnese Hercules, the Bull of the Museum at Naples, and the Venus Καλλιπυγος.

while others were erected from the materials of heathen temples. The natural decay of the ancient buildings was accelerated by utter neglect, by inundations of the river, by accidental fires, and more than once by the violence of armed enemies.* Three centuries after the victory of Odoacer, Rome had sunk to a miserable town of a few thousand souls; but there is reason to think that, down to about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, artificial aid had preserved to it a large proportion of the inhabitants whom it had contained in its most glorious days. Its population under Augustus cannot be estimated at less than a million and a half, and perhaps exceeded that number. About the year of grace 400 it has been calculated at upwards of a million. The giantess had grown old and weak; but the life-blood still circled through her veins, in a full though tainted stream.†

ANCIENT LATIUM.

This name, comprehending, in its oldest sense, that part only of the Roman plain which constituted the territories of the Latins and Rutulians, received a gradual extension of meaning with the waxing conquests of the republic, and was yet again enlarged by the usage of speech

* See Hobhouse, Illustrations of Childe Harold; and Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, vol. i. book ii.

† The first of these estimates is less than that of M. Bunsen, in the Beschreibung, vol. i. book ii. His calculation is founded on the Monumentum Ancyranum, the genuineness of which is undisputed, and in which Augustus relates, among the acts of his reign, a donation to the populace of the city (plebs urbana), in number 320,000. Females did not share in such donations; but, under Augustus (Dio Cassius, lib. i. cap. 21; and Sueton. Aug. cap. 41), the males of all ages did so. Hence, taking the *plebs* of both sexes at (320,000 + 320,000) 640,000, and adding 10,000 for senators and knights with their families, and others not receiving charity, we should have 650,000 as the number of free citizens. It is far too low a calculation which allows only one slave to every freeman of the imperial times; so that we thus have 1,300,000 as the least supposable number; and Bunsen thinks two millions may be nearer the truth.—The second calculation is that of Gibbon; who, from the number of dwellings given in the "Notitia," infers the population in the Theodosian age to have been about 1,200,000.

under the early emperors. The province will here be described according to its widest limits, which enclose three regions exceedingly dissimilar. The first comprises the broad plain from the Tiber to Antium, with the narrower one of the Pontine Marshes. This district, which lay beneath our view when we stood on the Tower of the Capitol, is not less remarkable for its natural fertility and loveliness, than for its present state of positive desolation. The second region is a hilly tract, embracing the country of the Hernicians, with the inland part of that which once belonged to the Volscians. It is not very productive, but presents much fine mountainous scenery, with a few well-wooded vales and declivities. The third and most southerly region, is that of the early people called the Ausonians, bordering on the sea. In ancient times, it contained among its dales some of the best vineyards in Italy: and it still preserves no small share of its former fruitfulness and beauty.

In sketching the topography of Latium, however, it will be inadvisable to follow strictly these divisions. After inspecting some of the most interesting monuments and spots in the neighbourhood of Rome, we may visit the scenes of the Æneid about the mouth of the Tiber, and thus be led southward along the coast, till, interrupting our progress only by a hasty glance at the nearest hills in one quarter, we have passed through the whole of the delightful Ausonian district. We shall thence return northward through the inland passes of the Volscians and Hernicians, and close our survey among the mountains which approach most closely to the Imperial City.

Even in the times of the empire, the Roman who studied the history of his country might search in vain for the localities and the ruins belonging to most of those states with which her infant power contended. The account we have of the environs of the city reminds us of the mighty arms which our British capital throws out to the land and to the sea. We read of lines of villas stretching from Ocriculum to Rome, and edging the

banks of the Tiber to its very mouth. When the sites of ancient towns possessed no local advantages, they sank into the earth, leaving scarcely a vestige, like Collatia or Labicum ; and it was only when their position was useful or picturesque, that they were covered by imperial edifices, like the Ostia of Ancus Martius or the Pelasgic Tibur. These more ornate fabrics in their turn decayed ; and it is beneath the ruins of the empire, or of the middle ages, that we have now to search for those of the republic and of the days which preceded it.*

In the plain, few modern dwellings interrupt our investigations. The pest, which always clung to this remarkable district, and which only a close population and an active agriculture had power to check, having resumed its reign since the decline of the country, has driven the natives to the slopes of the mountains. A few ruinous villages still keep their hold of the ground; several of them are habitable for the whole year without much danger to health; others must be abandoned on the approach of summer. The Campagna is chiefly covered with natural pasturages, interrupted by woods and by patches of tilled land, with some marshes.

On issuing from any of the eastern gates of Rome, the stranger's eye is first caught by the prodigious arches which rise in lines along the plain ; the remnants of those ancient aqueducts which were perhaps the most extraordinary works of an extraordinary people. These structures conveyed a body of water for which pipes, an invention well known to the Romans, would have been utterly insufficient, and therefore they were formed of strong masonry : they distributed water to the suburban hamlets and villas, and therefore they ran in winding

* The best works on the topography of Latium are Westphal's Römische Kampagne, Berlin, 1829 ; and Sir William Gell's Topography of Rome and its Vicinity, 2 vols. London, 1834. Each of the two treatises has an excellent map. Consult also Nibby's Viaggio Antiquario ne' Contorni di Roma, 2 tom. Roma, 1819.—A map is inserted in the present volume.

lines, instead of passing straight from their mountain springs to the city. Within the walls they supplied the household wants of the inhabitants, the luxury of the immense baths, and occasionally the entertainments of the naumachiæ or marine theatres.

The following is the list of aqueducts enumerated by Frontinus as existing in the reign of Nerva or Trajan, to which four or five others had been added before the invasion of the Goths. The first five are republican, the last four imperial.

1. A. U. 442. Aqua Appia, from a spring near the side of the road to Præneste,—length more than eleven miles: no remains.

2. A. U. 481. Anio Vetus, from the Anio,—length forty-three miles: remains above Tivoli.

3. A. U. 608. Aqua Marcia, from two springs in the valley of the Anio,—length nearly sixty-one miles; more than six miles, near Rome, carried on arches. In A. U. 747 the Aqua Augusta united with it: remains near Tivoli, and a stupendous line of arches for about two miles on the left of the road to Albano.

4. A. U. 627. Aqua Tepula, from springs below Tusculum: remains near the city-walls.

5. A. U. 719. Aqua Julia, from a spring above the source of the Tepula: remains within the walls, called the Trophies of Marius.

6. A. U. 733. Aqua Virgo, from springs eight miles from Rome on the road to Collatia: repaired and used for supplying the fountain of Trevi in the city.

7. A. U. 803. Aqua Claudia, from two springs in the valley of the Anio,—length forty-six miles; seven miles on arches nearest the city: remains between Tivoli and Subiaco, and fine arches near and in Rome; the arches partly used for the Aqueduct of Sextus V., called the Acqua Felice.

8. A. U. 803. Anio Novus,—length nearly fifty-nine miles: remains in the valley of the Anio.

9. A. U. 862. Aqua Trajana, Alsietina, or Sabatina, from the lakes of Màrtignano and Bracciano,—length

twenty-two miles: the branch from Bracciano (the Lacus Sabatinus), renewed, and called the Acqua Paola, supplies the district beyond the Tiber, the Vatican Palace, and St Peters.

Remains of the old Roman roads are visible all round the walls, and for miles over the plain. Several of them are still in some places passable for foot travellers; and one or two form at intervals parts of the modern carriage ways. But we have to seek most of them in abandoned tracks, where they appear as broken heaps of masonry, partly overgrown with weeds and rubbish, and partly sunk into morasses. All the ancient highways of Latium, however, are still discoverable, though not without many antiquarian disputes as to their identity. For some miles from Rome the most entire of them is that which is also the oldest; namely, the Via Appia, laid down in A. U. 442 by the censor Appius Claudius Cæcus, who carried it to Capua, whence, probably by Julius Cæsar, it was prolonged to Brundusium. At a depth of several feet, we find, in the Appian Way, a pavement of hard whitish stone, which appears to have been the original work of the censor. Above this layer is a bed of pebbles and coarse gravel, on which rests the surface pavement, composed of polygonal stones with hewn edges, from one to two feet long, and fitted to each other with the utmost exactness. This upper stratum belongs chiefly to the times of Nerva and Trajan; and is a favourable specimen of the most massive and elaborate sort of Roman highways. The strata on which it is elevated illustrate also the mode in which these are found to have been formed elsewhere. The next oldest of the great roads was the Via Aurelia, laid down in A. U. 512, which led to Centumcellæ, and was thence continued along the Mediterranean, under the name of the Via Æmilia Scauri. It is still traceable, as is likewise the more frequented Flaminian Way, which, opened in A.U. 533, led through Etruria and Umbria, over the Apennines to Ariminum. It was thence, under the name of the Via Æmilia Lepidi, continued to Placentia and Mi-

lan on one side, and to Aquileia on the other. Its main branch was the Cassian Way, which diverged from it at the Milvian Bridge of the Tiber (now the Ponte Molle), and ended at Sutrium. Of the other great roads leading from Rome, the most famous was the Via Latina, which, passing between Præneste and the Alban range, was carried through the country of the Hernici, and joined the highway of Appius at Casinum.

Following the sepulchral Appian Way outwards from the gate of St Sebastian, we see the tombs crowding more thickly as we advance: and about five miles from the city, on a height, where they are most numerous, we are on or near the Fossa Cluilia, the camp of the King of Alba, and the Sacred Field of the Horatii. Extensive ruins called Roma Vecchia, which lie not far from us, are the remains of a splendid imperial villa: but a wall in the neighbourhood, 240 feet in length, constructed of huge uncemented quadrilateral blocks of tufo, clearly belongs to the remotest ages of the country, and has been believed to indicate the site of the Roman or Alban camp, and the consecrated spot where the Curiatii and their antagonists were buried.*

We have to search for memorials of the Tarquins by following the broken road towards Præneste to the distance of eleven miles from the modern gate. Passing the fragments of a villa of the Gordians, and a picturesque ancient bridge of seven arches, we reach the naked banks of the volcanic lake of Gabii, where the site of this Alban town, proverbial for desolation as early as the Augustan age,† presents the simple, austere ruin of the Temple of Juno, the semicircle of its theatre, and the under portion of its uncemented walls, while a tower of the middle ages occupies the place of its citadel. In this district, too, we should look for Collatia, the dwelling of Lucretia; but its site eludes our search, unless we are content, after wandering through the delightfully wooded dell watered by the Osa, to sit down at Lunghezza on the summit of

* Sir William Gell's Topography, vol. i. p. 142.
† Horat. Epistol. lib. i. 12, v. 7.—Juvenalis Satir. vi. v. 56.

a rock which overhangs the stream, and imagine that the marble fragments which lie scattered beneath the ruined tower belong to the town of Collatinus.

There are, however, some districts of Latium which merit a more minute survey, and assuredly none is more interesting than the region about the mouth of the Tiber, the scene of the last half of the Æneid. In the magic mirror of poetry, we have beheld the glades of the Laurentine forest; and we shall tread with solemn pleasure those solitary woods and meadows which the power of genius has peopled with heroic beauty. In the flourishing times of the empire the whole coast, from the margin of the river to Antium and beyond it, was a continuation of that series of patrician dwellings and gardens which adorned the valley of the Tiber. Even under the republic, the beggars, we are told, were wont to throng about the gate which led to this road, as being, from its multitude of passengers, particularly favourable to their trade.* The ancient towns on the coast, however, had declined, almost without exception, at an early period of the empire; and with the decay of Rome the villas of her nobles likewise lost their splendour. The pestilential influence of the climate once more revived; invasions of the Saracens in the middle ages aided the progress of destruction; and we have now to seek, amidst unpeopled woods, noxious swamps, and pastures on which graze buffaloes, for the cities of Latinus, Turnus, and Æneas.

The banks of the Tiber below Rome gradually sink as they approach the flat coast. Accompanying the river in its course, we soon enter a region of unmitigated desolation, where we are reminded of life by nothing save one or two wattled huts standing on the edge of thickets, or the walls of some ancient mansion or tomb. At last, on reaching the brow of an eminence, we perceive a salt marsh appearing through copse-wood; we descend and

* Plauti Capteivorum, act. i. sc. i. v. 22.

cross a corner of it, and immediately, at the distance of thirteen miles from Rome, reach a gloomy fortress, surrounded by a few wretched old hovels, which compose the papal town of Ostia. The sea at its nearest point is now three miles distant from the modern houses; but the land has encroached on the waters, and at the castle we are little more than half-a-mile from the spot where was the ancient mouth of the Tiber. A little beyond the town, the site of the classical Ostia, a city of 80,000 inhabitants, is marked by a tract of grassy knolls, and by a few unimportant ruins. At the farthest extremity of these we may overlook, from a tower of the middle ages, the left branch of the two into which the river is here divided, being that by which Æneas is represented to have approached. The Sacred Island, a flat sandy meadow ten or twelve miles in circuit, divides this arm from that on the right, called Fiumicino, by which barks now enter the Tiber; and beyond the isle are visible the basin and other remains of Portus Trajanus, the harbour constructed by Claudius and improved by Trajan, which superseded that of Ostia.

Proceeding southward, we cross a reedy canal which communicates between the marsh and the sea; and we then enter a wood which, broken up by glades and meadows, is here separated from the Mediterranean by sandy hillocks, and extends backwards on the plain two or three miles from the beach. In several places, however, it spreads up nearly to the roots of the Volscian mountains; and southward it stretches with little interruption as far as Terracina, a distance of at least fifty miles. In the region which is nearest to us, the majesty of the Laurentine Forest is still represented by noble groves of the pine and dark-leaved ilex, the former, about the mouth of the Tiber, skirting the sea like a line of gigantic columns; while the laurel, the myrtle, the arbutus, and wild olive, form in many spots impervious thickets with the ivy and heaths.* We may chance to

* Virg. Æn. lib. ix. v. 381-383.

traverse these Italian prairies for days without seeing a human face. Our path, at most, will be crossed by a stray villager on his road to Rome, a few charcoal-burners among the brakes, or an armed hunter in the marshy depths, periling health and life for a wretched and precarious pittance.

In various places on this solitary shore ancient ruins are seen, but none of them have been satisfactorily identified with either of the two objects which possess most interest in the history of the district,—Laurentum the city of Father Latinus, or the Laurentine villa of the Younger Pliny, described by him with so eloquent a delight. Castel Fusano, an old turreted mansion, situated in a clump of tall pines a little to the south of the swamp, has been fixed on by most antiquaries as Pliny's abode; while some would rather place the retreat of this friend of Trajan at Tor Paterno, about eight miles southward on the coast; and others wish to find the spot at some intermediate point, among the unexplored recesses of the woodland. The common opinion identifies the site of Laurentum with Tor Paterno, which is a tower situated in an opening among the trees, on a meadow slightly raised above morasses, which nearly surround it, and less than a mile distant from the sandy beach. The tower itself is partly antique, and remains of a reservoir and other Roman works are observable beside it; while an aqueduct and fragments of a paved road are seen in glimpses through one of the most beautiful vistas of the forest.*

Leaving the Laurentine shore to its frogs,† we pursue the windings of the wood yet farther southward, among the tracks of the charcoal carts; and about five miles from Tor Paterno, we reach the village of Prattica. Inscriptions discovered on the spot have identified this

* Sir William Gell demurs to this opinion, chiefly on account of the flatness of the ground, which he conceives to be contradictory of Virgil's description of the "lofty walls" (Æn. lib. xii. v. 745), and of the royal mansion "in the uppermost part of the city" (Æn. lib. vii. v. 171). Topography of Rome, vol. ii. p. 59.

† Martialis Epigr. x. 37.

hamlet beyond a doubt with the town of Lavinium, which the legend describes to have been founded by Æneas, and to which, in the time of the Cæsars, was transferred the remaining population of the decayed Laurentum.* The position and vicinity of Prattica are romantic. It occupies a flattish tongue of land, five or six hundred yards in length, little if at all elevated above the surrounding woody ground, but entirely separated from it by deep and precipitous glens, except at one end, where a solid bridge of rock joins it to the plain. It lately contained about fifty sickly inhabitants; and a large baronial mansion in it has a lofty tower, which commands a magnificent view, embracing nearly the whole Campagna. The existing ruins of classical buildings are extremely insignificant.†

A walk of six miles farther in the same direction we have been already pursuing, brings us to the capital of the Rutuli. The country is rather more hilly, the larger trees less frequent, and the forest more open; and we remark some cultivation, with one large farm-house. About half way on, an easy leap carries us across the Rio Torto, a marshy little stream, supposed to be the Numicus, in which Æneas is said to have been drowned.‡

* Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, tom. ii. p. 262.

† Sir William Gell says the villagers of Prattica complained to him strongly of the climate of the spot. The same desponding spirit was manifested, in a different form, during a visit which the present writer paid to the hamlet in 1834, in the course of a journey through the forest. While a knot of the people were gathered in the kitchen of the wretched tavern, a man arriving from Albano told them that an inhabitant of the village, who had retired to the mountains for change of air, had just died there of fever. The hearers absolutely seemed to feel a kind of gloomy satisfaction in being allowed to believe that their own epidemic distempers were not unknown in other places; and the innkeeper's wife, a miserable victim of malaria, appeared even willing to infer from the fact the falsity of the charges against the climate, whose insalubrity was weighing herself down to the grave; for she exclaimed hastily, with an air of triumph which was really revolting; "E poi si dice che in Prattica si muore!" (And yet they will have it that people always die at Prattica!)—What is likely to have been the state of the climate when Æneas first settled on the rock with his colonists?

‡ Hæc fontis stagna Numici. Æneid. lib. vii. v. 150.

In the district we are now exploring, rather perhaps than at Tivoli, we ought to search for the Oracle of Faunus, the sacred fountain of the nymph Albunea, and her mephitic grove, "greatest of woods."* One imaginative traveller believes that he has found the oracular spring, at the Solfatara on the road between Ardea and Rome.† Ardea, though as unhealthy now as it was in the days of Strabo, still retains its "mighty name," and about threescore inhabitants. The village is nearly four miles from the sea, and is situated on a commanding rock, naturally insulated except on one point, at which three deep ditches are cut in the tufo. Its strength was increased by very ancient walls, the remains of which, composed of quadrilateral uncemented blocks, may be traced on the edge of the cliffs; but recent examinations have shown that this eminence was only the citadel, and that the town extended widely on the flat beneath, being defended partly by natural ravines, and partly by mounds similar to the Agger of Servius at Rome.‡

Continuing still our journey in a line with the coast, we now enter the ancient territory of the Volscians.

The woods of oak, ilex, cork, and myrtle, become thicker and more picturesque, and stretch farther up into the bare downs which lie at the foot of the mountains: we follow sandy tracks crossing each other with bewildering frequency; and, about sixteen miles from Ardea, we reach Nettuno, the only modern place on the

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* ——————— sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit.
Æneid. lib. vii. v. 87.

The bull was slain: his reeking hide
They stretched the cataract beside:
* * *
Couched on a shelve beneath its brink,
Close where the thundering torrents sink,
'Midst groan of rock and roar of stream,
The wizard waits prophetic dream.
Lady of the Lake, canto iv.

† Bonstetten, Voyage sur la Scène des six derniers Livres de l'Æneide: Genève, An 13 (1805).

‡ Gell's Topography of Rome, vol. i. p. 172.

Latian coast deserving the name of a town, but now containing scarcely more than 1000 inhabitants. Just before reaching it, however, we see on the right a fortress, occupied as a prison for the galley slaves, and standing on the rocky promontory called Capo d' Anzo; fragments of masonry project from knolls formed by fallen buildings; and the remnants of two immense arched moles, the one about 2700 feet in length, the other 1600, run out into the sea, while a small modern harbour, attached to a little decayed town, named Porto d'Anzo, is constructed with the aid of one of them. We are among the ruins of "the pleasant Antium," the Volscian capital, the spot where Coriolanus, "too proud to be so valiant," stood upon his enemy's hearth, and swore revenge against Rome. Under the emperors the Volscian town became a splendid city; and Nero, in particular, being attached to it as his birthplace, adorned it with magnificent fabrics, beneath whose overthrown walls have been found some of the noblest works of ancient art. Cicero, too, had a villa here, and another which he describes as delightfully situated almost in the water, at Astura, within sight both of Antium and Circeii.* At the present day, we see from the Port of Anzo, at a distance of about seven miles, a solitary tower of the middle ages, in that dice-box shape which is so frequent. The edifice is placed on the extremity of a lofty promontory, and retains, as well as the river which flows past it, its ancient name of Astura. In the thirteenth century, one of the Roman Frangipani, then the owner of the tower, made its vaults the scene of an act tragically disgraceful,—the betrayal of the princely boy Conradin into the hands of his murderer, Charles of Anjou.

For about twenty-two miles beyond Astura, lines of sandy hillocks, with several long but narrow and swampy lakes, compose a bulwark between the sea and the wide forest, which hides from us the Pontine Marshes. At the

* Cic. Epistolar. ad Atticum, lib. xii. Epist. 19.

end of this tract, on an angle of the coast, a picturesque mountain rises almost perpendicularly from the water's edge. It stands like an island between the sea and the Pontine Flats. Its length is not less than three miles, its breadth one, and its summit, which is a long narrow ridge, commands a magnificent prospect, reaching from Rome to Vesuvius.

The inhabitants of the little town of San Felice, which lies at the foot of the ascent on its south side, will tell us, if questioned, that the mount is haunted.* In ancient times, say they, a sorceress inhabited a castle on its highest peak, and, sitting on the cliff, drew mariners towards the coast by the fascination of her eye. She gave them a magic draught, which robbed them of their senses; but she possessed another charmed potion capable of acting as an antidote to the first. Two brothers sailing along the shore were attracted by her spell: the younger swallowed the deleterious draught and became a drivelling idiot; the elder feigned himself asleep, seized the enchantress as she approached him, and broke the enchanted cup. He compelled her to disclose the secret of the counter-charm, and to give up to him the second potion, from which he forced his brother to drink and then slew the witch. The name of the enchantress is *Circe*, and the tradition is older than Homer. The promontory still bears the name of Circello, and its identification with the spot which the Romans believed to be Homer's Island of Circe is undoubted, while it seems highly probable that it was also the spot which the Grecian poet meant to describe.

The topography of the Monte San Felice cannot indeed be exactly adjusted to the description of the "Ææan Isle," in the Tenth Book of the Odyssey; and though the mountain certainly was once insular, it seems clear that, long before Homer's age, it must have ceased to be so. Its appearance, however, from the sea is said to be quite that of an island; and the poet's loose topography in all his Italian scenery, bears the strongest marks of having been borrowed from the inexact stories of Grecian

mariners, who described it to him in the aspect which it had presented to themselves.*

Remains of the rude uncemented walls of a citadel are to be seen on the height, and ruins of Roman villas at its base; but no traces have been discovered which precisely ascertain the site of the Volscian town of Circeii, besieged by Tarquinius, by Coriolanus, and by Sylla.

Turning eastward along the coast from Circello, we cross the mouth of a canal which discharges into the sea the united waters of Virgil's rivers Ufens and Amasenus, and immediately reach Terracina, the ancient Anxur or Tarracina, placed a little beyond the extremity of the Pontine Marshes. Remains of its harbour may be traced, and considerable ruins, partly Pelasgic, partly Roman, and some belonging to the dark ages, surmount the noble rock which rises from the palm-trees of its hanging gardens.

The broad swamp which extends between the neighbourhood of Terracina and the station of Cisterna on the road to Rome, a length of full thirty miles, once contained, it is said, twenty-three Volscian cities. The waters rose even during the republic, and attempts were made to drain the marshes: Augustus, notwithstanding Horace's obsequious commendations, appears to have been but partially successful: further works were executed till the time of Theodoric: and several popes have undertaken the Herculean task. The ambitious pontiff Pius VI. found leisure before the first French Revolution to execute his singular road through the flats, as also the canal which runs by its side for twenty miles in a line as straight as an arrow. A large tract was rendered capable of cultivation; but, the waters having again gradually overflowed, the plain is again pestilential.†

* Æneid. lib. vii. v. 9. See Westphal, pp. 59, 60; and the interesting excursion of Brocchi the mineralogist, described by him in the Biblioteca Italiana of Milan, vol. vii.; 1817.

† See Forsyth's Remarks on Italy: "Journey to Naples." The expense of the late papal works is stated at 1,622,000 Roman crowns (£337,900), and the sum annually required for the insufficient keeping up which the works receive, at 4000 crowns (£830). See Westphal, p. 47.

Among the Volscian mountains skirting the marshes several towns present ruins, particularly Cori, the ancient Cora, and the village of Norma, once Norba, near both of which are very grand remains of primeval fortifications, besides two temples at the former place. Setia also exhibits very fine walls at the town of Sezze; and Piperno has preserved the name, but not the exact site nor any considerable vestiges, of the patriotic Privernum. We have entirely lost Corioli, where Caius Marcius earned his glorious surname; although its site must lie near Lanuvium, the birthplace of Milo and of the actor Roscius, which is identified with Cività La Vigna; as Velitræ, the native town of Augustus, is with the modern Velletri.

Returning southward from those hills to Terracina, without pausing to search in its neighbourhood for the temple of Feronia and its fountain, in which Horace performed his ablutions on finishing his voyage across the marshes, we leave the territory of the Volscians, and enter the modern kingdom of Naples, by a strong pass which leads into the ancient Ausonian district, commencing with the lake and town of Amyclæ, afterwards named Fundi, and now represented by the filthy place called Fondi. Beyond the plain we cross the line of hills anciently known as the Cæcubus Ager, and descend into the lovely bay of Gaeta, where we again encounter Æneas, and perhaps also Ulysses.

The fortified town of Gaeta, seated on the abrupt rocky promontory which shuts in the bay, and crowned by a circular Roman tomb, now entitled the Tower of Orlando, was the ancient Cajeta, which received the marble urn of Æneas's foster-mother. The fine bluff headland stands on our right; before us extends the sea, in whose darkly blue waters we already see imaged the skies of Parthenope; and around us, rich orange groves, Cæcuban vineyards, embowered gardens, and rural lanes, slope downwards in beautiful luxuriance to the rocky shore and the little town of Mola di Gaeta. We per-

haps stand near the spot where Ulysses, landing in the country of the Lestrygonian giants, climbed the lofty rock; or on the path by which the daughter of the pastoral prince Antiphates descended, bearing her pitcher on her head like the modern Italian maidens, to the "fair-flowing fountain" of the nymph Artacia. An inscription over a well in a pleasant garden by the shore still reminds us of the poetical legend; but if we fail in identifying the Homeric scenery, we are at least certain that we are on the site of the ancient town of Formiæ, where lay one of the most delightful and beloved of Cicero's country villas. Near this place, also, he was murdered. A picturesque sepulchre, consisting of a circular tower placed in a vineyard on the side of the road overlooking the coast, and overhung by a carob-tree, is pointed out without any good ground as the orator's tomb; and one of those undefined piles of Roman reticulated work, which fill the gardens along the shore, is declared upon as slight reasons to be his vaunted Formian villa.

Southward along the Gulf of Gaeta stretches a cultivated plain, on which, nine miles from Mola, we see a line of arches of an aqueduct, with the fragments of a theatre and amphitheatre. These indicate the town of Minturnæ, celebrated for the adventures of Marius. Here also stood the sacred wood and temple of the nymph Marica, the mother of Latinus; and the slow river Liris or Garigliano, whose waters "laved the oaken groves of the fair-haired nymph," is crossed by an iron bridge erected in 1832.*

Near the southern frontier of Latium, Aquinum, Juvenal's birthplace, is the modern Aquino; and beneath a magnificent isolated hill, surmounted by the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, the little town of San Germano exhibits the site, and some vestiges of

* Æneid. lib. vii. v. 47. Claudiani Panegyric. De Probo et Olybrio Consulibus.

Casinum. These were Volscian fastnesses, as was Arpinum, an inconsiderable municipality, two of whose citizens, both meanly born, and one of them a peasant, ruled in their turn the destinies of Rome. Caius Marius was one of the two "ignoble Arpinates," and Marcus Tullius Cicero was the other.* The country is woody and mountainous, and through fine valleys we ascend to the hill on which stands the modern town of Arpino, covering a portion of the ancient one, and still containing fragments of its more solid constructions, while the height which overlooks the houses presents some ponderous ruins of its primitive citadel. An antique tomb placed outside the walls receives from the inhabitants, by one of those whimsically distorted classical recollections which so often amuse us in the mouths of the Italian peasantry, the ambitious title of the Sepulchre of Saturn. Cicero was not born in Arpinum, but on a spot which we reach by crossing into the valley of the Liris, being a small flat islet formed by the stream Fibrenus, a little before its junction with the larger river. The philosopher has described his birthplace with a proud anticipation of its renown, in a dialogue of which the scene is laid here. The bank is still green, though less shady than when his pleasure grounds covered it: the seats on which he sat with his brother and Atticus have crumbled away; but the "lofty poplars" may yet be found, and "while Latin literature shall continue to address us, the place will not want a tree which may be named the Oak of Marius."† The columns and fragments of Cicero's paternal mansion lie scattered in the cloisters and kitchen-garden of the little church and monastery of San Domenico Abate.

From the neighbourhood of Arpinum the road northward to Rome, in the line of the Via Latina, enters the territory of the Hernici, a flat alluvial valley surrounded by rocky and wooded mountains, from which

* Juvenalis Sat. viii. v. 237-250.

† Cicero, De Legibus, lib. i. cap. 1, 4.

streams descend into the river Trerus or Sacco, while several abrupt hills shooting down from the main ridges were the sites of ancient towns. Frosinone the ancient Frusino, Verulæ now Veroli, Alatrium now Alatri, Ferentinum represented by Ferentino, and Anagnia by Anagni, are built in these strong and picturesque positions; and while all of them present ruins, those of Alatri and Ferentino are especially interesting. These remains are portions of the walls of the old towns or their citadels,—specimens of that rude and massive style which leads us back to the primeval ages, when Rome, if it existed at all, was still the village of Saturnia. The remarkable monuments of this class, which present themselves on heights throughout the whole of Central Italy, have been the subject of lively discussion among antiquaries, and have contributed to furnish materials for speculation as to the origin of the early Italian nations. The circumstances common to all these antique fortifications are the great size of the blocks of which they are formed, and the want of cement to unite them. In some instances they are formed of polygonal pieces, not adjusted to each other, the interstices between them being filled up with smaller stones: in other specimens, also polygonal, the huge masses are carefully cut, and fitted together with surprising exactness: and in some ruins we remark that the polygonal blocks are arranged with something like an approach to regular courses. Other walls are composed of rectangular stones, placed horizontally, but irregularly; while, in others, blocks of this form are accurately disposed in horizontal layers, one resting above another. These different arrangements appear to indicate a progress in skill of execution. Remains at Arpino and Ferentino are remarkable examples both of the fitted polygonal and of the rectangular walls and gates. At Alatri the majestic rock of the ancient citadel is defended at one angle by a vast rampart, about sixty feet in height, and yet composed of not more than fifteen courses of immense blocks; while several gates, one particularly huge, and many portions of the walls,

both of the citadel and of the town, pierced with subterranean passages, afford one of the most instructive and picturesque specimens of those aboriginal fortresses.

At the head of the valley of the Sacco, we emerge among the mountains which surround the Roman plain; and the beautiful Alban range first presents itself, rising to the west of the Hernician frontier. The white houses and embowered villas of Frascati cover a slope of the heights facing Rome; and behind them a steep ascent leads us to the prostrate ruins of the town and citadel of Tusculum. This ancient city, one of the favourite retreats of the Romans during their ages of refinement, existed till the middle of the twelfth century, when it was destroyed in a feud with its Papal neighbour. The visible remains are those of its earlier times,—paved streets, reservoirs, theatres, and fortifications, with the galleries and terraces of superb dwellings. Cicero's residence, the scene of the Tusculan Dialogues, has been by some antiquaries placed among the plane-trees which surround the fortified monastery of Grotta Ferrata, in the valley which separates the hill of Tusculum from the higher Alban range; but the prevalent opinion places this classical mansion and its grounds on the Tusculan height. Beyond the valley (the ancient Vallis Albana) stands a mountain group, of which the eastern portion bore the name of Mount Algidus, while the western and higher elevation, rising into the conical Monte Cavo, was the renowned Alban Mount, the seat of the great national worship of the Latin confederacy. The sides of this noble mountain are covered with fine woods, principally chestnuts; a modern village, named Rocca di Papa, stands picturesquely on a projecting spur not far below its summit; and on the platform in which it terminates, the fragments of the temple sacred to the Latian Jupiter are visible beside the walls of a Christian convent. The view from the peak is infinitely grand; and the two volcanic lakes of Albano and Nemi, the old Lacus Albanus

and Speculum Dianæ, which lie among woods at the foot of the Monte Cavo, may yet be reached by a descent on the remains of the ancient Triumphal Road.

Few spots are more beautiful than the Alban Lake and its vicinity. Its circular basin lies buried among steep crags mantled with coppice: the houses and gardens of Castel Gandolfo overlook it from the high bank opposite to the mountain; and from this quarter towards the north we may descend into the wooded dell of Marino, to find the fountain of the Aqua Ferentina, the muster-place of the Latin tribes, in whose waters the brave Herdonius was drowned;* or, turning to the south, we may proceed beneath the canopy of an avenue of the finest old oak and ilex, to the modern town of Albano, the site of Pompey's Alban villa, beyond which lay the lovely Aricia, now called La Riccia. The celebrated tunnel (Emissario) of the Alban Lake still discharges its waters into the plain in a stream about two feet deep. It is cut in the volcanic tufo which composes the rock of Castel Gandolfo, at a depth of about 430 feet beneath the summit of the cliff. Its length is fully a mile and a half, its width every where at least four feet, and its height from seven and a half feet to ten. Livy's well-known tale of the oracular command to form this outlet is an invention, or, if it be historically true, was a fraud of the laic priesthood; but, from authorities and an examination of the spot, sufficient proof has been collected that the waters of the lake did really at one time stand about 200 feet higher than their present level, and discharged themselves by a gully, artificially widened into a broad canal. The site of Alba Longa, so renowned in the legendary history of Rome, is still disputed. The common opinion places it at the papal villa of Palazzuolo, on the eastern bank of the lake, where is a remarkable excavated tomb; while the antiquary cited below confidently assigns to this poetic city some ponderous ruins among bushy knolls on the northern bank, at the point

* Livii Histor. lib. i. cap. 50, 51, 52.

nearest to Marino, and not far from the outlet above alluded to.*

The Montes Prænestini, being the line of steep mountains that skirt the Campagna of Rome from Palestrina to Tivoli, are extremely majestic. A platform among their highest ridges is covered by Guadagnolo, a considerable village; while other hamlets are scattered on heights among the lower ravines, often in extremely wild situations; and villages or trifling ruins among the grassy glens about the roots of the mountains may be plausibly identified with some of Livy's Latin fastnesses. The modern Palestrina, an ill-built town of about 3500 souls, occupies the lofty site once held by the city of Præneste, or by its celebrated Temple of Fortune, built by Sylla, of which several arched galleries may still be seen. From the town a very steep ascent of about 800 feet lands us on a peak covered by the fragments of the ancient Prænestine citadel, remarkable for its siege by Sylla, and commanding a glorious prospect over the Roman plain, of which both Hannibal and Pyrrhus are said to have availed themselves. Near Tivoli we pass, at the foot of the hills, that wide wilderness of confused matted ruins which once composed the celebrated villa of Hadrian. The spot is very pleasing, though its architectural monuments are unintelligible to all but the professed antiquary, who disdains to be thrown out by any obstacle.† Tivoli, the ancient "Tibur supinum," lies on the extremity of the mountainous ridge, and reaches to the very edge of those precipices at which the river Anio, called by the modern Italians the Teverone, forms its celebrated waterfalls. Repeated inundations have changed again and again the face of this richly beautiful scene; a severe flood in 1826 injured the rocks, and destroyed part of the town; and two tunnels, since excavated in the Mount Catillus to carry off the surplus waters, have not sufficed to protect

* Gell's Topography of Rome, vol. i.; articles "Albano (Lake)," and "Alba Longa."

† Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, tom. i. pp. 120, &c.

the spot from recent devastations. But the rocks are still wild and bold, the grottos, "the echoing habitation of the Naiad," are still dark and tangled, and the orchards green and irrigated; the headlong river still pours from its cliffs; and round, above, and beneath, the sacred woods of Tiburnus wave "their thick tresses."* The position of the circular ruin, commonly called the Temple of the Sibyl, on the height facing the principal cataract, is indescribably grand; one of the lesser falls discharges itself through the extensive corridors of an ancient villa, usually styled that of Mæcenas; and several other imperial monuments are scattered near the town.

* Horatii Carm. lib. i. od. 7; lib. iv. od. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

The Ancient Topography of Etruria, the Central Apennines, and Upper Italy.

ETRURIA: *The Plain*—Its ruined Cities and Tombs—Recent Excavations—*The inland Region*—Veii—Soracte—The Thrasimene Lake—Cortona—The River-springs—Fæsulæ—The Val d' Arno—THE SABELLIAN APENNINES: *Sabines*—Reate—Primeval Ruins—Scenes near Rome—The Valley of the Anio—*Marsians*—The Lake Fucinus—Its Scenery and Tunnel—*Pelignians*—Sulmo—*Vestinians*—The Vale of the Aternus—*Samnites*—The Caudine Defile—Beneventum—Lake Amsanctus—UMBRIA AND PICENUM: *Umbria*—The Adriatic Coast—The Mountains—The Valley of the Clitumnus—Spoletium—Interamna and the Cataract—Ocriculum—*Picenum*—Ancona—Asculum—Passes and Summits of the Great Rock of Italy—UPPER ITALY—*Liguria*—Genua—Mount Vesulus—Segusium—*Cisalpine Gaul*—The River Po—The Alpine Lakes—Mantua—Verona—Battlefields—Insubrian Towns—Towns on the Æmilian Highway—The Disinterment of Velleia—Towns on the Eastern Coast—The Rubicon—*Venetia*—Patavium—The Baths—*Istria*—Aquileia—Pola.

MANY of those natural features which characterize the extensive and diversified territory set down for examination in this chapter, will offer themselves more prominently to our view hereafter. But the leading peculiarities of the several districts ought to be well understood, even for the study of our present subject.

Upper Italy, as we learned at the commencement of this volume, assuming its northern boundary among the Alps, embraces that rich alluvial valley which forms the basin of the Po, with the mountains which on each

side collect the waters that irrigate it; and to this wide scene of fertility it adds the narrow shores of Liguria, rocky and romantic in aspect, but yielding few natural productions of any importance. This division of the peninsula holds, in ancient history, a position very unlike the commanding one which we shall find it bearing in times nearer to our own.

The remainder of the country here to be surveyed, comprehends the whole of Middle Italy except Latium; but a small portion of Lower Italy likewise is included in it, for the sake of convenience and historical connexion. In the centre of our region stand the wildest and highest of the Apennines, encircled on all hands by huge mountain ranges, among whose inequalities we discover every variety of landscape, from the barren sublimity of the rocky desert to the cheerfulness of the village with its cabins and its gardens. Amidst the forests and passes of these glens, the warlike tribes that almost destroyed Rome have given place to the peasantry, and sometimes to the robber-hordes, of the Papal Sabina and the Neapolitan Abruzzi. Descending yet lower, on the south, we find ourselves among the woods and defiles of Samnium; or, turning to the east, we see the heights sinking abruptly down into the Adriatic, but still sheltering among their roots the rushing streams, the waving corn-fields, and the olive-groves, which attest the fertility of the old Picenum. On the same side of the Apennine we enter a less valuable district, composing a part of Umbria; while a mountainous and very picturesque quarter of that province introduces us, on the western declivity of the hills, to those richly beautiful Umbrian valleys which are watered by little rivers flowing into the Tiber. Etruria, which thence extends towards the north and west, has four-fifths of its surface covered by mountains, bare and desolate in some places, thickly wooded in others, and subsiding into chains of hills, on which wide olive-grounds are interspersed with vineyards. The low country, composing the remainder of this province,

subdivides itself into two regions; the valleys watered by the Tuscan rivers, and the plain which borders the Mediterranean. Several of the vales, and in particular that of the Arno, the largest of all, rank at once among the loveliest and most productive districts in Italy. The Etrurian plain closely resembles that of Latium; but, although almost equally unhealthy and much less fertile, it is far from being so completely deserted, and even contains some considerable towns.

ETRURIA.

In reviewing the classical topography of this important province, a few of the ruined cities of the plain will first engage our attention; after which we may proceed northward from Rome to the upper valley of the Arno, and thence downwards along the course of that river.

The Etruscan Maremma, or plain on the sea-coast, extends, with very few lofty elevations, from the Tiber to Pisa. The recent investigations by antiquaries in this quarter have produced abundant discoveries, of which some account has been given in the first chapter on art; and to it, with the authorities there cited, together with Passeri, and other older sources, recourse may be had for details regarding the monuments. A few topographical features of the district may however be here added.

Proceeding from Rome, on the road to the port of Cività Vecchia, which was the ancient Centumcellæ, we reach, by a journey of about thirty miles, a ruinous village called Cerveteri, where may be seen some remains of the city of Agylla or Cære, which, "seated on its ancient rock," taught the Romans the religion of Etruria. But the most remarkable of the Etruscan ruins exist near Corneto, eleven miles northward from Cività Vecchia, at a spot called Turchina, which was the site of the old Tarquinii. Besides portions of the rectangular blocks of limestone that composed its walls, and still line some places of its steep bank, a hill on the opposite side of a valley is covered with tombs, of which more than 300 may be counted. Excavations are

still prosecuted there, and also proceed, though less systematically, at various other places in the papal territory, especially at the Ponte dell' Abbadia, a few miles north of Corneto, on the site of the ancient Volci or Volcium. At Chiusi, which was Clusium, Porsena's capital, investigations are also carried on. The ruined walls of some obscure cities in this district are exceedingly curious specimens of the primitive architecture. Such are Volsinii, now Bolsena, on the beautiful lake of the same name,—Rusellæ, now Rosselle,—and Cossa, on a deserted hill not far from Orbitello. In several places, likewise, have been found considerable remains of fortresses whose ancient names are uncertain. An especial interest attaches to the ruins of two other cities,—Populonium, the only seaport of ancient Etruria, which lay to the north of Piombino,—and Volaterræ, whose walls, sepulchres, and other works of art, contained in Volterra, a modern town of some note, exceeded any thing that had been discovered in the province till the excavations of Corneto.

In the inland region of Etruria, the first spot for which we must look after leaving Rome is the site of Veii. So early as the reign of Augustus the shepherd blew his horn among the ruins of this renowned city;* and, although an imperial town afterwards covered part of the ground, its real situation has been the subject of infinite dispute. Since 1810, however, inscriptions have fixed it at the ruined and unhealthy hamlet of Isola Farnese, about twelve miles from Rome, between the Cassian and Flaminian Highways. If we approach the place from the Tiber, we turn off, near the sixth mile stone, into the glen of the Valca, which is the renowned stream Cremera. Green hills, with clumps of copsewood, enclose the valley, and beautiful holms of pasture-land, with scattered trees, fill the hollow below. At a point where two rivulets unite to compose the Valca,

* Propertii lib. iv. Eleg. 10, v. 29.

the hills give place to steep precipices; and the table-land, four miles in circuit, which stands between their two ravines, was the site not only of the Etruscan Veii, but of the Roman colony and municipium, which successively occupied part of the ground it had covered. Remarkable fragments of squared stones may be discovered among the bushes, with which the crags are matted; sepulchral tumuli appear on the ridges around, and hewn tombs with niches are visible among the cliffs. At the farthest extremity of the walls, one of the rivulets forms at a mill a very beautiful cascade of fifty feet; and near this nook rises an isolated height, from which the deserted manor-house of Isola looks down on a little city of excavated sepulchral caves and niches. This was probably the Necropolis, or public burying-ground, and the celebrated citadel was on a rock near the junction of the two brooks.*

Thirty-five miles from Rome we arrive at Cività Castellana, situated most picturesquely above a precipitous dell, and occupying the site either of Falerii, or of Fescennium.† Interesting remains of a town surrounding a deserted church, called Santa Maria de' Faleri, near Cività Castellana, certainly belonged either to the Etruscan Falerii, or to the Roman colony which took its name. A few miles to the south-east of these ruins a long but steep mountain, peaked at its summit, rises isolated from the plain. San Oreste, a little town of 1000 inhabitants, occupies a platform more than half way up, giving its name to the mount; and a wood with an abrupt rocky path leads to a cluster of churches which stand on its summits, the highest of these being covered by the convent of S. Silvester. This mountain is the ancient Soracte; the wood, once consecrated to Apollo, became the refuge of Silvester, a persecuted Christian bishop,

* Nibby, Viaggio Antiquario, vol. i. p. 54. Gell's Topography of Rome, vol. ii. art. "Veii;" a highly interesting analysis of this classical spot, accompanied with a plan.

† Cramer's Ancient Italy, vol. i. p. 226; and Gell's Topography, vol. i. articles "Cività Castellana" and "Falerii."

and the hermitage of Carloman, the devout son of a Christian king. On the east of Cività Castellana, among the hills near Ronciglione, we find the Ciminian Lake, but there are few traces of the Ciminian forest, whose impassable defiles so long checked the Roman conquests. After a further journey inland we again meet the Tiber, now a clear and pebbly highland stream, beside which, on a magnificent wooded mountain, in one of the noblest positions of any town in Europe, stands Perugia, more celebrated for its appearance in the annals of modern art than its Etruscan predecessor Perusia for its spirited resistance to the Romans and the Goths.

Proceeding northward from this interesting city, we soon begin to ascend among woods and defiles, and, reaching the brow of a lofty hill, look down through the trees on the celebrated and beautiful Lake Thrasimenus. On the west of it, the eminences are inconsiderable and gentle; on the east, two abrupt heights, one at each extremity of the basin, shut in, between them and the water, the plain in which the Roman army, like a herd of wild beasts, was baited by Hannibal. Vineyards cover the flat; the village of Passignano is presumed to indicate the hottest scene of the battle; and the streamlet Sanguinetto reminds us of the carnage. Beyond the boundaries of the lake, Cortona, seated on a lofty and very steep hill, retains some singularly splendid remains of the fortifications which encompassed the ancient city of the same name, whose origin is lost among the mists of fable. The Clusine Marshes, now converted into the richly cultivated Val di Chiana, lead to Arezzo, the old Arretium, near which we enter the upper valley of the Arnus or Arno. Winding between rising banks, which are covered with vineyards and olive groves, and are crowned on the right by the grand mountain of the poetic Vallombrosa, the waters of the Tuscan river flow to wash the walls of Florence.

This beautiful city boasts, under its Roman name Florentia, of having been founded either by Julius

Cæsar or Sylla; but its antiquity is eclipsed by the huge Etruscan ramparts of the neighbouring Fæsulæ. The steepest, but most lovely of pleasure-paths, conducts through viny woods and white villas to the elevated spot which these ruins occupy, on the delightful "top of Fiesole." The square of the little village is known to cover an ancient forum; and, from the corridors of a convent, once the citadel, the eye wanders over one of the most enchanting landscapes that ever ministered to the heart and imagination of a poet. In the lower Val d' Arno, the richest scenes of Tuscan cultivation, interspersed with hamlets and little towns perched on eminences, accompany us to the plain where Pisæ, for which Virgil claims a Grecian origin, has made room for the silent streets and ecclesiastical ruins of the modern Pisa. Luca, the scene of a conference between the members of the first triumvirate, retains its name nearly unchanged in the modern Lucca. The busy port, whose Italian title of Livorno the English have corrupted into the barbarous Leghorn, seems to be indebted to a mistake for the claims to classical antiquity that have been advanced in its favour.

THE DISTRICTS OF THE SABINES, MARSIANS, PELIGNIANS, VESTINIANS, AND SAMNITES.

The territory of those Sabellian tribes, which are here classed together, includes the central heights and valleys of the Apennines, with a portion of the plains that lie along their southern roots. The greater part of the robber-country of the Abruzzi is contained in its northern quarter. Its mountain-scenery is at once rich and wild beyond all other regions in Italy, and its antiquities illustrate well the primitive history of the Italian nations.

The Sabines.

At the northern extremity of Sabina is found, far up among the recesses of the hills, the town of Norcia, in ancient times called Nursia, and noted as the seat of

the imperial Flavian family. On the river Velinus, in the beautiful plain of Rieti, are recognised those "rosy fields" of Reate, on which the Latin poets bestowed the Grecian name of Tempe. Their neighbourhood abounds, beyond almost any other district, in ruins of fastnesses belonging to the earliest ages of the country. In the valley of one little river alone (the Salto), extending from this quarter towards Alba Fucentia, there have been found polygonal walls in at least twelve different spots.* Lista was the chief place of the Aborigines, and Palatium is said to have given its name to the Palatine Hill of Rome. The Pelasgic ramparts of both are visible in the same neighbourhood. The deep lake of Cutiliæ, anciently termed the central point of Italy, and now called Pozzo Ratignano, still spreads out its blue, cold, acidulated waters, in a green plain beneath a village, nine miles eastward from Rieti ; loose masses of reeds represent its celebrated floating islands ; and a Roman terrace, and vestiges of baths, remind us of the sick emperor Vespasian, who retired thither to die.† Probably the pasturages of Varro's Gurgures Montes may be found somewhere among the heights surrounding the grand peak of the Leonessa, which is a prominent object even when viewed from Rome.

Proceeding southwards, and approaching the Tiber, we find, at a hamlet called Correse, the Sabine Cures, which gave birth to Numa Pompilius. Eleven miles from the capital, on the Via Salaria, near the left bank of the Tiber, we have to seek the fatal rivulet Allia ; but it is still doubtful which of the insignificant streamlets or ditches that cross the highway in this quarter has the just right to the "ill-omened name." Nomentum, now the village of La Mentana, pleasingly secluded among woodlands, and adorned by a romantic baronial

* For details of the investigations lately carried on among those hills, chiefly by Mr Dodwell and Sir William Gell, consult Gell's Topography of Rome.

† Senec. Natur. Quæst. lib. iii. cap. 25 ; Plinii Hist. Natur. lib. ii. cap. 95, and lib. iii. cap. 12 ; Suetonius in Vespasiano, cap. 24.

castle, retains considerable sepulchral and other ruins; as does Fidenæ, at the mount of Castel Giubileo, on the main road, nearer the city. The site of Crustumerium is doubtful.

At the conflux of the Anio with the Tiber, we reach the extreme point of the Sabine territory, and, skirting the sandy hillocks of the famous Mons Sacer, turn eastward towards the mountains. Not far from the edge of the plain, and near the ancient quarries, we enter a desolate shrubby flat containing three little sulphureous lakes (the Acque Albule), which, with their tiny floating islets, and their strong mephitic odour, have long laid claim, perhaps erroneously, to the honour of representing Virgil's Albunea and oracle of Faunus. The Sabine corner of the Roman plain is here bounded by three pretty hills, which, in ancient times, were the Montes Corniculani; and the S. Angelo, the most northerly of the three, is the probable site of Corniculum, the birthplace of Servius Tullius. Behind these eminences stands the Monte Gennaro. Its steep ravines are finely diversified with woods and pastures; and Horace's Lucretilis is either this mountain itself, or the range of which it is a part.

The obscure Sabine fortresses, which have left so many fragments among the glens about Tivoli, must be abandoned to the antiquaries;* and we thence proceed up the deep and picturesque valley of the Anio till, passing Vicovaro, the ancient Variæ, we reach a point where the river receives the stream Licenza. This rivulet is Horace's chilly brook Digentia; the short vale which it waters presents some of the loveliest scenery about Rome; the precipitous height of Rocca Giovine may be declared the site of the mouldering temple of Vacuna; Bardella is perhaps Mandela; and in a pleasant woodland spot, beneath the hill and hamlet of Licenza, the slight remains of a Roman villa are pointed out as belonging to Horace's Sabine dwelling. Two beautifully situated

* Consult Nibby's Viaggio Antiquario, vol. i.

springs, one of them a considerable way up a mountain-dell, discharge their waters into the Licenza near the village; but it is an undetermined point whether either is the poet's glassy fountain of Bandusia.

A short way above the influx of the Licenza into the Anio, we are diverted from our classical researches by reaching the Benedictine monastery of San Cosimato, boldly seated among cypresses on the edge of a magnificent cliff, which overlooks a dark and fearful gorge of the river, crossed by a Roman bridge. Near the source of the stream, Subiaco, the ancient Sublaqueum, exhibits equally attractive scenery and equally sacred monastic retreats.

The Marsians, Pelignians, and Vestinians.

From the fountains of the Anio, at Treba, the hills may be crossed to the sources of the river Garigliano, or Liris, where we find ourselves again on poetic ground in the region of the Marsians, Virgil's enchanters and serpent-charmers.

A little to the south-east of these springs lies the mountain-lake Fucinus, which derives its modern name from Celano, a considerable town on its banks. This fine and extensive sheet of water is in shape elliptical; a narrow plain wearing the aspect of one continued orchard interspersed with villages, skirts most quarters of it; and behind these soar on two of its sides some of the loftiest of the Apennines, including the conical Mount Velino, and the round Majella, crowned with huge shapeless rocks. The scene is in an unusual degree both pleasing and picturesque; and numerous spots of antiquarian interest surround the lake. One of these, at the foot of Mount Velino, is Alba Fucentia, the St Helena of ancient Rome, to whose prisons dethroned kings were sent to die. A little hamlet covers a portion of its rocky hills, and among these are still to be seen considerable remains of its very massive polygonal walls, with many brick fragments of its Roman buildings, a few ruined tombs, and in the church some good columns of a

temple. Virgil's grove of Angitia seems to have given name to Luco, not far from Alba. But the most singular monument of the region,—indeed, one of the most curious in Italy,—is the great subterranean Canal of Claudius, which extends from the bank of the lake to the valley of the Liris. It has recently been cleared out and repaired by the Neapolitan government, to fit it for its original purpose of protecting the borders of the lake from those sudden inundations, to which the want of any visible outlet for the waters has always exposed them.* The length of this tunnel is 6917 English yards, or nearly 4 miles; its breadth in most places is 7 feet 4 inches; its height almost throughout is 13 feet 10 inches; and the longest of the shafts sunk perpendicularly to the tunnel from the surface of the earth has a depth of 432 feet.†

The pastoral and beautifully undulating valley of the Liris, in which stand several obscure ruins, belongs to the Marsian district as far down as Sora. Eastward from the lake were the lands of the Peligni, in which, beyond the Majella, the Neapolitan town of Sulmone, lying among the roots of the mountain, represents Sulmo, the birthplace of Ovid. Corfinium is to be found near Popoli, on the river Pescara, the Roman Aternus. The valley of this river, which constituted the territory of the Vestini, has its left bank formed by the heights of the Monte Corno or Gran Sasso, near the foot of which on the west, not far from the interesting modern town of Aquila, a rurally situated village, called San Vittorino, contains a theatre and other ruins belonging to Amiternum, one of the most ancient Sabine towns. Between

* The ancients believed that this lake supplied by a subterraneous passage the springs of the Anio, or at least those of the Aqua Marcia. There are two places near the border of the lake at which a part of its waters does seem to disappear. A tradition mentioned by Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 12.), of a town named Archippe, swallowed up by the lake, was repeated to the writer by some inhabitants of Avezzano, who call the town Marsiglia, and assert that its buildings may still be seen under water. They attribute its disappearance to magic.

† Official Report in the Biblioteca Italiana of Milan, vol. xlvii. 1827, p. 391.

the fruitful valley of the Aternus and the Lake of Celano extends one of the bleakest tracts of the Apennines, a bare moorland region, broken up at several points by savagely wild passes.

The Samnites.

Samnium is chiefly mountainous, and partially woody. The situation of the Caudine Defile, where the brave Samnites inflicted so disgraceful a defeat on the Romans, is strongly controverted. The opinion now prevalent, fixes this historical event in the valley of Arpaia, between Arienzo and Benevento; though other antiquaries follow the older decision, which places it farther west, in a ravine near Sant' Agata de' Goti.* At Benevento, which, under its name of Beneventum, attained in the dark ages to the rank of a royal residence, are seen a fine honorary arch of Trajan, a ruined theatre, an obelisk, and fragments of a bridge.

To the east of that city, about three miles from the village of Frigento, in a bare volcanic country, are Virgil's tremendous Valley and Lake of Amsanctus, of whose poetical horrors there still remain its sulphureous odour and the jets of its waters.†

UMBRIA AND PICENUM.

Umbria.

The quarter of this province which lies eastward of the Apennine, has little that ought to detain us. At Rimini, the Roman Ariminum, are an imperial bridge, a triumphal arch, and portions of an amphitheatre. To the south of Pesaro, occupying the place of the ancient Pisaurum, the Metauro falls into the sea; and the battle-field, on which the Romans defeated Asdrubal, may be sought near Urbino, known of old as Urbinum

* Cramer's Ancient Italy, vol. ii. p. 238. Cluverii Italia Antiqua, p. 1196. Craven's Tour, Appendix.

† Daubeny on Volcanoes, Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, sect. 15.

Hortense. The pass of Furlo, formed with great labour by the Romans, who called it Petra Pertusa, leads through a striking defile of the Apennine; and Gubbio, representing the obscure town of Iguvium, is celebrated for possessing the inscribed Eugubian tablets of bronze.

On the western side of the mountains, the beauty of the scenery compensates for the want of remarkable historical monuments. Cività di Castello, not far from the source of the Tiber, is Pliny's Tifernum Tiberinum; and near it must be the site of his secluded Tuscian villa, which he has so delightfully described.* Farther down the river, on an abrupt hill, the singularly interesting monastic town of Assisi, named in the imperial times Assisium, contains a Roman temple-portico; and beneath the neighbouring Spello lies, near the site of the old Hispellum, an amphitheatre close to the highway. Foligno, the ancient Fulginia, still occupies its position on a beautiful level, and is recovering from the effects of a severe earthquake which, on the 13th of January 1832, shook the whole of this district.

Southward from Foligno, Virgil's river Clitumnus bursts from its springs at the foot of a rocky hill, whose cypresses, commemorated by Pliny, have given place to ragged coppice. The chill waters still form a full and wide stream the moment they issue from the cliff; and the cream-coloured cattle browse on the rich meadows that form the banks immediately beyond; but the decorated temple, which, from a beautiful rock, now overlooks the little valley, cannot be that primeval shrine whose religious simplicity Pliny describes.† Bevagna is Mevania, the birthplace of Propertius; and Spoleto, celebrated, under its name of Spoletium, for its repulse of Hannibal, stands on a picturesque hill, separated by a dell from the higher Apennines, and

* Plinii Epistolarum, lib. v. ep. 6.

† Plinii, lib. viii. epist. 8. Of doubters, see Forsyth, "Journey to Ancona;" of believers, Hobhouse's "Illustrations of Childe Harold," p. 35.

exhibits an honorary arch of Drusus, the portico of a temple, and a Roman gate.

A beautifully wooded ascent of the Apennines carries us across into the valley of the Nar or Nera, on which, below the conflux of that river with the classical Velinus, stands Terni, on the site of the ancient Interamna, the birthplace of Tacitus the historian. A romantic walk of four miles from the town up the valley of the Nera, among the evergreen ilexes of the open field or the orange-groves of a modern villa, leads to the tremendous Fall of the Velino, the finest cataract in Europe, whose "hell of waters," and the colossal grandeur of its tangled cliffs, Childe Harold has deprived all succeeding travellers of the right of describing.

In Tuder, now Todi, are remains of walls and of a fine Doric temple. The primitive ramparts of Amelia (Ameria), farther down the Tiber, are excellent specimens of the fitted polygonal construction. On a steep rock overhanging the Nera stands Narni, the ancient Narnia; and at the entrance of the romantic ravine beneath, between whose wooded rocks the river winds slowly along,* are seen the marble ruins, still very striking, of a bridge built by Augustus. Numerous but shapeless fragments, on a plain close to the Tiber, beneath the modern Otricoli, indicate the site of Ocriculum, and have furnished, especially during the pontificate of Pius VI., many inscriptions and admirable monuments of sculpture.†

Picenum.

Ancona retains its Grecian name, and its strong position on a bluff headland, up whose side the city rises to the platform occupied by its singular cathedral. Its Roman Mole, built by Trajan, forms a part of the modern harbour, and is surmounted by a slender and elegant

* Claudianus, De Sexto Consulatu Honorii, v. 515-519.

† For some interesting details on the topographical antiquities of Umbria, stated to have been derived from inspection of the ground, see the Quarterly Journal of Education, No. XIV. April 1834.

honorary Arch. Among the numerous towns which skirt the shore of the March of Ancona, it is sufficient to notice Fermo, the old Firmum Picenum. The river Tronto is the ancient Truentus; and on a wide rocky platform, inclosed between it and the Castiglione at their conflux, stands the dismal and decaying town of Ascoli, representing Asculum Picenum. The situation is infinitely beautiful, among rocks, and woods, and waters; and along the upper valley of the Tronto, the horizon is confined by lofty serrated peaks of the Apennines, running backwards towards the Mountain of the Sibyl, which perhaps combines the Mounts Severus and Tetricus of Virgil. Shapeless brick walls and broken arches, on an eminence within the city, seem to belong to the Roman times. On the southern bank of the Tronto commences the luxuriant little plain in which, on the river Tordino, stands Teramo of the Abruzzo, the ancient Interamna Prætutiana.

Westward and southward from Teramo, the Apennines swell upwards in huge masses, encircling the feet of their monarch, the Gran Sasso d' Italia. Nearly the whole of this magnificent mountain is included within the Picentine frontier. Its southern side ascends in tremendous precipices from the green valley of the Aternus; while on the west and north its snowy top sinks more gradually down upon the wilderness of woody heights, deep rocky dells, and dashing torrents, which skirts the plain of Teramo. This solitary and almost inaccessible tract, here richly grand, and there savagely desolate, is the very wildest and most picturesque district of the Neapolitan Abruzzi, and has more of the Alpine character than any other of the Apennine landscapes.*

* The wild passes which lead over the shoulder of the Gran Sasso, from Aquila to Teramo, were crossed by the writer in 1834; and a short account of the excursion was published in Blackwood's Magazine for November 1835.

UPPER ITALY; COMPREHENDING LIGURIA, CISALPINE GAUL, VENETIA, AND ISTRIA.

Liguria.

Interesting as this province is, for its majestic landscapes and its vicissitudes in the middle ages, no portion of it is remarkable in the ancient history of Italy.

Genoa has nearly retained its Roman name of Genua, and borrowed from the town which bore that title its active commercial industry. Northward from the coast, the chain of the maritime Alps leads us up towards the Monte Viso (Mons Vesulus), among whose piny glades is the source of the classic Padus or Eridanus, equally celebrated by its modern name, the Po. This mountain, however, belongs to the next range of the Alps, whose southern valleys, following some of the classical geographers, we may consider as included in Liguria. This group derived its title of Cottian from a chief of the country, whose town of Segusium, now Susa, in the beautiful pass leading down from the Mont Cenis into Piedmont, is still ornamented by a triumphal arch, erected by him in token of his submission to Augustus. Turin has taken its modern name from its old but obscure title of Augusta Taurinorum; and a few leagues north-east from it, near Verrua, were discovered, in 1745, ruins and many antiques, belonging to the equally obscure town of Industria.

Cisalpine Gaul.

The delightful valleys which descend from the Alps in the whole length of their Italian chain, present few spots of historical importance; but the fertile plain, formed by the Po and its tributaries, was the scene of many remarkable events.

On the southern side of the Alpine crescent, the hollows are watered by fine rivers forming numerous lakes, which are better known to modern travellers than they were to the soldiers and politicians of heathen Rome.

The Lacus Verbanus is merely mentioned by one or two ancient geographers. Under its modern name of the Lago Maggiore, it is world-renowned for the beauty of its shores, varying from the softest loveliness of rural landscape to the stupendous precipices of the Alps; and the islands which gem its breast have become the seat of Italian villas. That on the Isola Bella, with its terraced pyramid of gardens adorned with statues, offends, indeed, the taste of the fastidious connoisseur, but delights the fancy of those who are willing to give play to poetical and romantic associations. The Lake of Lugano, which the topographers call the Lacus Ceresius, was never named till the middle ages. The magnificent Lake of Como, however, known to the Romans as the Lacus Larius, allures both by the ornate grandeur of its mountain shores, and by its classic recollections of Virgil and the younger Pliny. Modern country-houses, convents, and hamlets, scattered among its precipitous woods, have covered the sites of Pliny's villas; and even his two favourite seats, his "Comœdia" and "Tragœdia," have entirely disappeared. At the point of Torno, however, is an intermitting fountain, which answers fairly to the description of such a phenomenon given in one of his letters; but Pliny's spring may or may not have belonged to his own villas, and therefore it cannot fix the situation of either.* Comum, his native town, is the modern Como, situated on the western branch of the lake, at its southern extremity.

Continuing to skirt the lower valleys of the Alps we reach Bergamo (Bergamum), whose citadel, placed on one of the extreme eminences of the mountains, overlooks the beautiful plain of Lombardy; and a farther journey through a closely cultivated district leads to Brescia, formerly Brixia. Antiquities have been found in both towns; but the discoveries made at the latter since 1820 have been the most remarkable, embracing, besides numerous statues and inscriptions, a marble temple of

* Plinii, lib. ix. ep. 7; lib. iv. ep. 30.

excellent construction. Eastward from Brescia appears the noble Lake of Garda, the Benacus of the Georgics, enclosed by steep mountains, except at its southern end. The scenery on the lower part of this inland sea presents much of that fine union of horizontal lines with sloping elevations, which distinguishes Italian landscape; and the olive plantations and orange gardens of the Bay of Salò are singularly beautiful. From its southern shore, Catullus' beloved promontory of Sirmio* shoots out a low and reedy slip of land, ending in a steep rock, which is covered by groves of olives and wild shrubs twining among the broken arches of a Roman villa. The Benacus discharges itself into the slow Mincio, the Mincius of Virgil, whose waters, after flowing far between cultivated hills gradually sinking, spread into the marshy lake on which stands the classical Mantua. Emerging from the gloomy streets of this decaying town, we may wander among the ditches and round the outworks of its impregnable fortifications, till, among the pollarded trees of the swampy plains, about three miles from the walls, we reach the little hamlet of Pietola, slightly raised above the morass. This place offers nothing remarkable in its aspect, but every thing in its recollections; since a tradition, which, if not absolutely certain, is at least older than Dante, identifies it with the Roman village of Andes, the birthplace of the poet of the Æneid.

The celebrated city of Verona is very beautifully and strongly situated on the lower ridges of those hills which form the bank of the Adige, the ancient Athesis. Besides the modern interest which attaches to it, its classical antiquities are numerous. It contains a portion of a Roman bridge, a well-built gateway in one of its streets near the citadel, and remains of other arched gates. Its most remarkable ruin, however, is the famous Amphitheatre; an edifice which is supposed to have been erected at least as early as the reign of Trajan. In the

* Catull. Carmen xxxi.

middle ages, its gladiatorial shows had given place to judicial duels; and in place of these, the imperial walls now echo the declamation of strolling players, who pace a wooden stage occupying a portion of the arena. The seventy-four arches of its external wall have, with the exception of four, entirely disappeared: mean shops have been constructed in some parts of its circuit, but modern stone-seats enable the interior to present in some degree its ancient aspect. The position of the edifice, in a large open square, is commanding, and its mass is exceedingly imposing.*

Returning to the great plain of the Po, we may search for three celebrated battle-fields. The spot where Marius defeated the Cimbri has not been identified.† There is more certainty as to the sites of Hannibal's two victories,—the one on the Ticinus, and the other on the Trebia. The former took place on the right bank of the first river, to the south of Novara, and the latter on the left bank of the other, a few miles above Piacenza.‡

Milan stands on the site of Mediolanum, which was first the chief seat of the Insubrian tribe of the Gauls, then a flourishing municipal town of the Romans, and afterwards, in the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, the metropolis of the Western Empire. It has been destroyed twice at least, since the commencement of the dark ages, and preserves few vestiges of its ancient grandeur. The very existence of Trajan's palace in the city is apocryphal;§ and though sixteen Corinthian columns, at the church of San Lorenzo, are elegant, the edifice to which

* Dimensions in English feet:—Longitudinal axis, 512; conjugate axis, 410; circumference, 1469; height remaining, 100; longitudinal axis of arena, 249; conjugate axis, 147. Woods, Letters of an Architect, vol. i. p. 226; Maffei Degli Anfiteatri, in Poleni Thesauro Antiquitat. Roman. tom. v.

† Cluverius (Italia Antiqua, lib. i.) hesitatingly places it between Novara and Vercelli: D'Anville, with equal doubt, on the other side of the Ticino, ten miles north-west of Milan.

‡ Cramer's Description of Ancient Italy, vol. i. pp. 54, 80.

§ Alciati Historia Mediolanensis, lib. ii. ap. Grævium, Thesaur. Antiquit. Ital. tom. ii. part. 1. p. 43.

they belonged is unknown. The Roman municipium of Ticinum is represented by Pavia. Cremona retains its old poetical name, and that of Placentia is slightly changed in the Italian Piacenza.

The Æmilian Way, on which Piacenza stands, passed through several other ancient cities, whose modern renown has eclipsed that of their earlier days:—Parma, Reggio (Regium Lepidi), Modena (Mutina), and Bologna, first known under its Etruscan title of Felsina, and next by the Romans called Bononia.

In 1760, an exceedingly curious discovery was made, close to the base of the Apennines, between Parma and Piacenza. At a village called Macinesso, overshadowed by steep hills, the finding of a few antiques tempted the Duke of Parma to excavate; and at a depth of many feet, covered by successive layers of soil and rocks, were disinterred the remains of an extensive town, to which its inscriptions gave the name of Velleia. It had perished by a landslip, supposed to have occurred in the fourth century; and the number of skeletons that lay among the ruins, showed that the catastrophe, which piled the first strata above the unhappy town, had been sudden and fatal. But the ancient writers are alike silent on the history of Velleia, and on its fate; its antiquities, also, are mere fragments; and these causes, joined to the remoteness of the place from the great roads, have been the excuse of travellers for generally neglecting it.

On the coast of the Adriatic, on the left bank of the Po, stood Adria, which gave its name to the gulf, but sunk into decay on the conquest of the province by the Romans. Spina, situated at the most southerly mouth of the great river, encountered a similar fate. In the imperial times, the only flourishing seaport of Gaul within the Po (Cispadana), was Ravenna, built on piles amidst morasses. The interest, however, which attaches to this renowned city, does not arise till after the classical period. Proceeding southward from it, we reach the frontier between Gallia Cisalpina and Umbria, which in the republican era, though not exactly in the later

ages of the empire, was formed by the celebrated river Rubicon. For a mile from the sea, a little stream called Fiumicino is certainly the Rubicon; and of the several brooks which unite higher up to form this rivulet, the prevalent opinion designates the Urgone (otherwise Rigone) as the leading one.

Venetia.

Vicenza, under its Roman name of Vicentia, was an unimportant municipality; but the ancient Patavium, now Padua, renowned as the first town of the district, is still more so for having given birth to Livy, and to the family of the Pæti,—Cæcinna Pætus, whose wife Arria has immortalized his fate by her heroic affection; and Thrasea Pætus, the victim of Nero, whose name was another word for virtue, while his spouse, the younger Arria, was worthy of her noble mother.*

Patavium, which, in the earliest imperial ages, was the greatest and most prosperous city of Upper Italy, noted for its commerce and woollen manufacture, and numbering, besides 500 Roman knights, 20,000 other fighting men, was three times destroyed before and during the dark ages,—by Attila, Totila, and Agilulf the Lombard.† Its situation between two small rivers, the Brenta or Meduacus Major, and Bacchiglione or Meduacus Minor, is no way striking, and its academical arcades and mosque-like churches present no traces of the classical times. Inscriptions however have been found without number, several of which relate to the family of the Livii; and one sarcophagus of that house, found in 1413, was boldly proclaimed to be the tomb of the historian, and transferred in procession to the town-hall, where it yet stands. Another sarcophagus, raised on four columns before the church of San Lorenzo, is an imposing object; though it will scarcely receive credit for being what its inscription (set up in 1298) declares

* Plinii, lib. iii. epist. 16. Taciti Annal. lib. xvi. cap. 21, 34.
† Scardeonius de Antiquitate Urbis Patavii; ap. Grævium, Antiq. Ital. tom. vi. part. 3, p. 27.

it to be,—the grave of the Trojan Antenor, fabled to have been the founder of the city.

Six miles from Padua are the celebrated oracular and medicinal springs, which the Romans called the Aquæ Patavinæ. The largest of these, the Fons Aponus, has given to the spot its modern name of Abano; and near it are remains of the ancient Baths, whose repairs can be traced as low as the time of Theodoric. The hot fountains are still used for their former purpose, the bath being generally taken in the form of mud; and another spring, dedicated to Saint Helen, beautifully situated at the neighbouring village of Battaglia, at the foot of a lovely hill adorned by a romantic villa, is a still more fashionable resort. Este, in the immediate neighbourhood, gives its title to a princely house, celebrated in history from the middle ages till our own days, and occupies the site of the Roman Ateste.

Istria.

On the Istrian side of the gulf few places require notice. Aquileia, which possessed an extensive carrying trade till the fall of the empire, and was levelled with the ground by Attila in the year 452, preserves only its name, with a few sepulchral cippi and inscriptions. The inland town of Cività di Friuli is the ancient Forum Julii, where remains of considerable consequence have been discovered since 1817. Trieste is the Roman Tergeste, and Capo d' Istria is Ægida. Pola, on the promontory of the same name, possesses splendid monuments of antiquity; among which are a richly decorated gate, two temples, and a large and tolerably preserved amphitheatre.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Ancient Topography of Lower Itdly and the Italian Islands.

CAMPANIA—Capua—The City and Bay of Naples—The Phlegræan Fields — Virgil's Tomb — Scenery of his Hades — The Phlegræan Isles—*The disinterred Cities* — Herculaneum—The excavated Parts of Pompeii—Tombs—The Forum—Temples—Theatres and Amphitheatre—APULIA, LUCANIA, and BRUTTIUM: Description—*Apulia*—Cannæ—Mount Vultur—Brundusium—*Ruins in Magna Græcia Proper*—The Gulf of Tarentum—The Scylletic Gulf—*Ruins on the Western Coast*—The Rock of Scylla—Charybdis—Elea—The Temples at Pæstum—*The Inland Region* —Consentia—The Forest of Sila—SICILY—Aspect—Mountains—*Interior*—The Hill-fort of Enna—*Eastern Coast*—Messana—Taorminium—Catana—Syracuse—*Southern Coast*—Troglodyte Town—Ruins of Agrigentum—Selinus—*Western Coast*—Mount Eryx—*Northern Coast*—Ægeste—Panormus—CORSICA AND SARDINIA—Roman Colonies—Sardinian Round Towers—The Isle of Ilva—THE IMPERIAL PROVINCES OF ITALY—Augustus—Constantine—The connexion between the Ancient Provinces and the Modern.

CAMPANIA.

CAMPANIA extended eastward from the sea to Mount Tifata, which separated it from Samnium, and southward from the Massic Hills, the final boundary of Latium, to the river Silarus, the modern Sele, which formed the frontier of Lucania. Its most famous vineyards were on the Massic heights, and in the Falernian territory, stretching from them to the river Vulturnus, now Volturno; but its delightful climate and its luxuriant cultivation embraced the whole plain of the modern Terra di Lavoro. In the interior there can still be traced

a good many cities known in the heathen times. Capua has given its classical name to the Neapolitan Capoa; but the latter is built on the site of Casilinum, and the ruins of the ancient Capua are found among the fields at some distance, comprehending one of the largest and best preserved of the Roman amphitheatres.*

The Bay of Naples, of which the Italians say, that it is a piece of heaven fallen down upon earth, is certainly, with its mountains, its gardens, its sea-cliffs, and its countless dwellings, one of the most enchanting spots in the world. It is beautiful in the broad sunshine, when the purity of the atmosphere is reflected on its darkly blue waters; beautiful when the verdure is tinged by the golden lights of evening and the ocean kindles into twilight purple; and not less beautiful when its contours are half veiled in moonlight, when red torrents of fire gleam on the side of Vesuvius, and when the waves catch phosphoric flashes from the boatman's lifted oar.

Within the circuit now filled by the immense metropolis lay the sites of two Grecian towns, the first of which, Palæpolis, sunk into decay on the conquest of Campania by the Romans, while Neapolis, the other, long continued remarkable for its foreign manners, its luxury, and literature. So early as the time of Strabo the shores of the bay offered, as they do at present, the aspect of one continuous city. The magnificent line of mountains, which forms its southern bank, was not neglected; the lovely and salubrious little plain of Surrentum or Sorrento, the birthplace of Tasso, and now the retreat of English invalids, was celebrated by Statius; and the majestic island of Capreæ, the modern Capri, whose yellow rocks rear their towering masses from the sea beyond the Surrentine promontory, still contains the ruins of those villas that witnessed the crimes of Tiberius.

* Dimensions in English feet: major axis, 478; minor axis, 390; major axis of arena, 218; minor axis, 130.—Mazocchius de Amphitheatro Campano; ap. Polenum, tom. v. pp. 637, 638.

The favourite resort, however, was that portion of the gulf which lies to the west of the city, where the volcanic fires, scarcely extinct in the times of the Roman republic, have since repeatedly broken out, and even smoulder sullenly at the present day. This district was called the Phlegræan Fields, and was pointed out as the scene of some of the oldest Grecian fables ; while one of its lakes, the Avernus, either in consequence of its name, or receiving the name for the occasion, was declared to be the theatre of the Homeric *Nekuia*, that awful vision of the dead which passed before Ulysses at the barriers of the earth. Not content with peremptorily identifying the spot, which the poet carefully left undefined, the Roman men of letters proceeded to trace in its neighbourhood all the features of the realm of shadows,—features which Homer does not describe, since he represents the wanderer, not as perambulating Hades, but as cowering in the midst of his magic circle, round which the ghosts arise and hover. Virgil, in his great poem, readily adopting the notion which held out the Neapolitan Lake as the entrance to the world of spirits, skilfully blended with it the local tradition of the Sibyl of Cumæ. His hero performs an actual journey through Hades (a conception every way inferior to Homer's shadowy procession of spectres) ;—but that he intended any description of the actual features of the district is a supposition which, in itself unlikely, does, to those who have both read his work and examined the ground, seem altogether incredible. We may, however, be content to take his verses as our guide in strolling through the vineyards, and skirting the lakes, of this beautiful scene.

Our road from Naples leads us beneath the Tomb, said to be that of Virgil, picturesquely placed on the brow of the precipice of Posilypo, and close above the entrance of its singular Roman tunnel, which pierces for half-a-mile through the heart of the tufo rock. On the Bay of Baiæ, now Baia, we first encounter, at Pozzuoli, the ancient town and harbour of Puteoli; with its mole, temple of Serapis, amphitheatre, and villa

of Cicero. Other temples, mansions, and baths, are scattered round the shore, and on the opposite heights stands the finely placed Castle of Baia. Beyond Pozzuoli, a causeway divides from the sea a shallow pool, which is all that is left of the Lucrine Lake, identified in the belief of the Romans with one or another of the lakes or rivers of Hades. Close behind it lies the Avernus, now a circular sheet of water, surrounded by high banks, covered with thickets and smiling vineyards. Its mythologic gloom may have partially disappeared even at the formation of Agrippa's Julian Harbour; but the features of the spot have been completely changed by the celebrated eruption of 1538, which threw up the hill called the Monte Nuovo, and nearly filled the basin of the Lucrinus. In the steep bank of the Avernus, there still exists a long excavated passage, which the people call the Sibyl's Grotto.

We shall find the real grotto, however, by taking a short walk westward, which, after passing on the plain considerable remains of the remarkable city of Cumæ, will lead to a tall rock standing detached near the sea, on which were placed the Citadel of that town and its Temple of Apollo. The subterranean galleries used, in the oracular responses, still perforate its western side. To the north of the Rock of Cumæ stretches a flat and sandy tract, spotted with lakes or marshes, beside one of which (that of Patria) a tower on the beach marks the supposed tomb of Scipio Africanus. To the south lies a royal chase skirting the shore, and separating the Mediterranean from the Lake of Fusaro, which, celebrated in these days for its oyster-fishery, was equally so in the time of Strabo, for representing the Acherusian Marsh of the Grecian legends. Its "silent groves" are now vineyards; and a smaller lake, called the Acqua Morta, communicating with the Fusaro and the sea by sluiced canals, and backed by a range of rocks and a rude dice-box tower, must be the Cocytus. From this point the journey of Æneas carries him to the Elysian Fields, passing what may be termed the heathen purgatory and

place of punishment. The ground at present exhibits a monotonous scene of vineyards: the plain in which the two lakes lie, continues for a short distance; it then contracts into a valley between sloping hills, in whose narrowest gorge is a straggling hamlet, with a double row of Roman tombs; and it finally opens out again into a wide plain, which, on our system of identification, must be that of Lethe. This is the most beautiful spot of the district. The bottom of the hollow is quite flat; and an extensive shallow lake, the Mare Morto or Lethe, filling a large part of it, communicates with the sea to the south. On the west a smooth beach succeeds to the steep hill round whose shoulder the road has led us; and this strand, or some place in the neighbourhood, must have been, in Virgil's view, the anchorage of the Trojan fleet. At the southern extremity of the beach rises an "aërial mountain," which still nearly retains its ancient name of Misenus, together with the ruins of the town of the same name (Misenum) at its foot, and its rugged shape, dizzy paths, and perforated gallery now called the Dragonara. On the east of the Mare Morto, a lower hill rises from the water's edge; houses, thickets, a church, and vineyards, are clustered on its side; and along its western base runs a line of antique tombs, pointing it out as a Roman burying-ground, the Père-la-Chaise of the Augustan age. This sepulchral spot preserves the name of the Elysian Fields; and if Virgil must be supposed to have borrowed from the reality any traits of his poetical landscape, the retired wood and winding valley of Lethe may have been figured by the hollow now covered with vineyards; while space for the athletic games, for the crowds which listened to the primeval bards, and for the laurel thickets which harboured the pious and the patriotic, would be found on the lone summit of the rising ground of Bauli, now Bacoli, stretching towards the frowning rocks that dip into the Bay of Baia. This high ground contains several ruins of ancient villas, particularly two remarkable subterraneous buildings, probably reservoirs; the Cento Camerelle, a

triple course of vaults, and the Piscina Mirabile, a vast hall, supported by no fewer than forty-eight arches.*

The Romans extended their Homeric topography to the islands about Naples. Three rocky islets, now called I Galli, which may be seen on climbing from the orange-groves of Sorrento to the heights on the south, were identified as the haunt of the Sirens, and are so styled by Virgil. Prochyta, now Procida, and the larger island of Ischia, formerly Ænaria or Pithecusa, and poetically Inarime, were fixed on as the prison of the giant Typhœus, and are recognised as such by all the Latin poets. These tales owed their origin to the Ischian volcano Epopeus, the modern Monte San Nicola.

Vesuvius and the eminences which are grouped around it, nearly fill up the eastern shore of the Gulf of Naples; but there will be a fitter opportunity for describing them, when we come to the natural history of the district.

The disinterred cities at the foot of Vesuvius have excited the liveliest curiosity, less from their own importance, than from their presenting on their discovery the spectacle of ancient habitations and their contents, as little disturbed as if we were transported back to the first century of the Christian era. Tradition ascribed to the Greeks the foundation of Herculaneum as well as Pompeii: the Etruscans and Samnites by turns possessed both; both were subdued by Sylla in the Social War; and both, but particularly the latter, appear to have prospered under the Roman dominion. Both towns are stated to have been injured by earthquakes previously to the great eruption; and traces of the devastations, which Pompeii suffered by the convulsion in A.D. 63, are still visible in its existing remains. The terrible catastrophe of the year 79, in which Pliny the naturalist perished at Stabiæ, near the modern Castellamare, is described by his nephew, in two letters with which

* See the Canon Andrea de Jorio's Viaggio di Enea all' Inferno ed agli Elisii, secondo Virgilio; Napoli, 1831, 3d edition.

every scholar is familiar.* The unfortunate towns were destroyed in that eruption, not by streams of lava, but by showers of stones and ashes discharged from the mountain. Herculaneum, however, has since become imbedded to the depth of eighty or a hundred feet in solid volcanic masses, and its total disinterment is consequently hopeless. Galleries have been cut to form approaches to some portions of it, and the spaces which were laid open have been generally filled up again after the moveables were carried off. Its celebrated paintings and manuscripts, its statues, mosaics, household utensils, and other antique treasures, must now be sought in the Royal Museum at Naples; and, with the exception of some partial excavations which were lately in progress, the only accessible part is the Theatre, of which the stage and the adjoining compartments may be imperfectly viewed by torchlight. Over Pompeii, on the other hand, lay nothing but the loose bed, in few places so deep as twenty feet, formed by the showers which originally destroyed it; its excavation was comparatively easy, and the portions uncovered have been left open to view.

In 1711, a peasant in sinking a well at Portici discovered the earliest traces of Herculaneum; and the government unrolled the first of the mutilated manuscripts in 1752. In 1592, a water-course, cut across the site of Pompeii, came on several basements, but without attracting attention; towards the end of the seventeenth century other monuments were discovered; about 1748, the position of the city was identified, and a few years later the systematic excavations commenced. The French, after the conquest by Napoleon, disinterred the largest part of those buildings which we now see, and ascertained the circuit of the walls, a sweep of about two miles. Not one-third of the town is yet laid bare, and the operations which now go on are a mere mockery. Outside the ramparts one suburban street has been uncovered. The streets and areas excavated within

* Plinii Epistol. lib. vi. Epp. 16, 20.

the walls comprehend, besides minor public edifices, an amphitheatre, two theatres, eight temples, two basilicæ, and baths, besides numerous fountains in the streets and houses. Upwards of eighty private mansions have been discovered, a great number of shops, and in the outskirts many tombs.

From the side nearest to Herculaneum, Pompeii is approached by a disinterred suburb which has been named the Street of the Tombs. In this interesting spot, the first remarkable object is the Suburban Villa, which has been called that of Arrius Diomedes, in one of whose vaults seventeen skeletons lay huddled together; while two others, one bearing a key, and supposed to have been the master of the house, were found stretched in the garden.* Two of those in the vault were the skeletons of children, whose fair hair was still preserved; most of them were those of females; and the impression of one shape on the volcanic sand indicated youth and singular beauty. The plan of this villa, with its courts, chambers, baths, staircases, galleries, and gardens, can be easily traced. In the window of one apartment in it four panes of glass were found, and proved for the first time that the Romans had applied glass to that use. The Tombs which, as we walk on, succeed the villa, are structures of various forms, and more or less ornamented; some of them, being solid (a few of these mere cippi or monumental pillars), cannot have contained ashes or bodies; others are calculated for one person, and a third class are pierced with niches for the urns of the family and dependents, the appearance of which, resembling that of pigeon-houses, gave such buildings the name of Columbaria. The tombs are generally placed in a vacant space enclosed by walls, and the picture which their mutilated range produces is unusually attractive. One painted chamber, open at the top, and containing a

* The whole number of skeletons yet discovered in Pompeii does not, it is believed, amount to 300; and the disappearance of valuables from some quarters indicates that the inhabitants had attempted, after the catastrophe, to recover part of their possessions.

triclinium or triple seat, a monumental column, and a pedestal for a table, was designed for the funeral feasts. Near another semicircular bench were found the skeletons of two children embracing, and of a female holding an infant in her arms; and in a niche close by the gate was the skeleton of a soldier with his weapons.

The streets of the town are narrow, the very widest scarcely exceeding thirty feet, and are paved with irregular blocks of lava, in which the ruts of carriage wheels are visible. The Forum, however, had originally a pavement of marble. The houses are built of lava, plastered over, and frequently painted, while inscriptions indicate the names of the owners, and together with emblematic signs intimate the kind of merchandise sold within, or convey salutations to expected visiters. The dwellings externally were little ornamented, not one of them possessing a portico; and the large mansions of the wealthier inhabitants were chiefly surrounded by shops. The aspect of the streets is gloomy, the houses are low, and their fronts usually consist of an under portion of dead wall, above which are small windows serving a part of the first floor, the principal lights, however, being admitted from the inner courts. The roofs have of course disappeared, no upper floor is in existence, and few of the buildings appear to have had any. The interior of the better residences was beautifully decorated with columns, mosaics on the floors, and paintings of landscape, figures, and arabesques, on the plaster of the walls. Most of these ornaments, including the paintings and mosaics, are now in the Museum.

From the Herculaneum gate a winding street runs towards the Forum, and on this line are several of the largest and most remarkable of the private mansions, especially those called the houses of Sallust, Pansa, and the Tragic Poet. Immediately before we reach the Forum we find the Public Baths, disinterred in 1824. In this establishment, which occupies a space of about 100 square feet, the walls, many of the vaulted roofs, the paintings and the mosaics, are in tolerable preservation.

The Forum is an oblong area of nearly 500 feet by 120, surrounded by a Doric colonnade. At one end of it, a Corinthian temple, which has been called that of Jupiter, projects into the open space, and is elevated on a very lofty basement,—a peculiarity distinguishing all the temples of Pompeii, and producing, with the long flight of steps by which the portico is faced, a very imposing effect. Round the colonnade stand the remains of other sacred buildings, and of some whose purposes are uncertain; but they apparently include a senate-house, a prison, in which were found two skeletons of men in fetters, a basilica, and another structure of a similar kind, which, according to its inscription, was erected by a female named Eumachia. An edifice near one side of the temple of Jupiter, adorned with singularly well preserved paintings, and containing numerous cells or chambers, with a central space in which stand twelve pedestals in a circle round an altar, has been called the Pantheon. Shops encompass it, and one range of these faces the Forum; in which, on the side opposite to them, is a large temple, supposed to be that of Venus.

Beyond the Forum is the quarter of the Theatres, which embraces shady porticos, and spacious areas for gardens. A large triangular space, approached by an Ionic vestibule, and enclosed by a Doric colonnade, contains a remarkable temple, called that of Hercules, and pronounced the most ancient building in Pompeii. This portico opens to the greater Theatre, beyond which is the smaller one. The larger of the two, which may have contained 5000 spectators, is semicircular like the other Roman theatres, and is built on the slope of the hill. It seems to have been faced with rich marble, of which some slabs still remain; and its plan, excepting that of the stage, can be distinctly traced. The small Theatre has its semicircle truncated by walls running at right angles to the stage, and, on the authority of an inscription, is said to have been roofed. Beside it is a large rectangular area, surrounded by a Doric colonnade, and containing a number of small apartments resembling

shops. It has been called the Provision-market (Forum Nundinarium), or Soldiers' Quarters, and may have served both purposes, besides others connected with the places of amusement. A court behind the great theatre, enclosed by a portico, contains a small Corinthian Temple of Isis, well preserved and curiously ornamented.

The Amphitheatre stands at the south-eastern corner of the town, just within the walls. It is as usual elliptical; its dimensions externally are 430 feet by 335, and it could admit perhaps 10,000 spectators. It was chiefly constructed internally of rubble work,—the opus incertum of the ancient writers,—the facing of which with stone has chiefly disappeared, but the outline is quite entire.

APULIA, LUCANIA, AND BRUTTIUM.

This extensive and highly interesting country varies exceedingly in its natural features. Apulia chiefly consists of a wide and long level, passing at its southern extremity into a branch of the Apennine. Its plains have lost much of their Roman cultivation, and most of the forests in which the Italian princes of the middle ages hunted have disappeared; a great part of them being now reduced to pasturage, whose general barrenness is relieved only by luxuriant brushwood, with a few straggling clumps of forest ground. That large district of Lucania which is embraced in the Basilicata is more hilly, but is far from being either fertile in soil or beautiful in scenery. On the western side of the Gulf of Tarentum, however, the Apennines rise higher, and fill nearly the whole remainder of the peninsula to its southern headlands. This region of Italy is wild and romantic in the extreme. The forms of the mountains are more abrupt and varied than in the northern districts of the great chain, and their summits are in several quarters covered with never-melting snows; magnificent forests clothe the ravines on their sides, their rivers are torrents leaving dry channels in summer, and the glens which cluster among their roots display a continually recurring alternation of desolate

wastes with the richest vegetation. The picturesqueness of the landscape is aided by the position of the towns and villages, which, placed almost universally on detached hills, differ from the similarly situated towns in the north in this respect; that, instead of covering the top of the eminence, they usually rise as it were in steps from its base, converting it into a pyramid or cone of buildings.

The ancient history of southern Italy derives its chief interest from the Grecian settlements, of which Apulia possessed but few. The group of Mount Garganus at its northern extremity, takes its modern name of Sant' Angelo from a miraculous grotto haunted by the archangel Michael. In the middle of the thirteenth century the population of Sipontum, at the foot of this mountain, was transferred to the new town of Manfredonia. Southward from this place the river Ofanto is the Aufidus, on whose banks was fought the battle of Cannæ. The precise scene of this murderous conflict cannot be fixed without some hesitation; but ruined tombs and other edifices not far from the right bank of the river, about eight miles from Barletta, are supposed to belong to the village of Cannæ, and thus to indicate the neighbourhood of the battle; and Canosa, twelve miles from the river-mouth, is Canusium, which appears in the same page of the Roman history. Between Venosa (Venusia) and the river, the town of Melfi occupies the summit of a fine, conical, isolated mountain, which, with the woody ravines formed by it, is poetical ground, being the Mons Vultur, which sheltered Horace's infant slumbers. Southward from Barletta stands Bari, the ancient Barium; and Brindisi is Brundusium, the most celebrated port of ancient Italy, and the scene of Virgil's death. Its situation is marshy, its excellent harbour is nearly choked up with sand, and its strong castle is a prison for convicts. Otranto partially preserves the name of Hydrus or Hydruntum; and Gallipoli, a stirring port, that of Callipolis, on the Gulf of Tarentum.

The eastern side of this grand basin is terminated by the Iapygian or Sallentine promontory, called by the Italians the Capo di Leuca;* and at this point commences that line of coast to which most of the ancient geographers restrict, somewhat capriciously, the name of Magna Græcia. In its strict application, the term comprehends only that part of the eastern shore which extends southward from the Iapygian promontory to the Zephyrian (the Capo di Bruzzano), or, at farthest, to the promontory of Hercules (Capo Spartivento), or to Leucopetra (the Capo dell' Armi), the two southern extremities of the peninsula.* It would be more convenient to use the name as a collective one, embracing all the Greek settlements in Italy.

But within the limits thus laid down were certainly founded the most powerful of the Italo-Grecian states. It will be sufficient to notice particularly Taras or Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, Sybaris, Thurii, Croton, and Locri Epizephyrii. The first six of these splendid cities stood on the Gulf of Tarentum, bounded between the Lacinian and Iapygian promontories, on the rocks of the former of which still stands the last column of the temple of the Lacinian Juno, giving to the headland its modern name of Capo delle Colonne. The town of Taranto, occupying the site of Tarentum, but possessing few of its remains, is situated very delightfully, on a neck of land which nearly divides the main gulf from a small inner bay that forms its head. Around a solitary house, called Torre di Mare, near the right bank of the Bradano, the old Bradanus, an uncultivated plain, covered with tamarisks and other coppice-wood, extends to the sea; and on an eminence in this flat are the sole vestiges of Metapontum, being the ruins of a Doric temple, of which fifteen columns with their architrave are still erect. Heraclea lay to the south of Metapontum, but not a fragment of it remains; though inscriptions, medals, and the celebrated Heraclean tablets

* Cluverii Italia Antiqua, p. 1321.

of bronze, dug up in 1753, have fixed its site at Policoro, a mansion near the shore, in the plain of the river Sinno, which is the ancient Siris. At the south-western angle of the Gulf of Tarentum, commencing at the sea on the frontier between Lucania and Bruttium, and extending southwards into the latter province upwards of fifty miles, is a valley watered by several streams, and in many spots singularly fertile and beautiful. In the neighbourhood of the coast rich corn-fields and fine pastures are scattered among woody hills, while jagged mountains, closing the distance, descend at several points in steep precipices to the water's edge. Two of the rivers of this vale are classical. The Crati, its main stream, is the Crathis, whose waters were fabled to turn the hair to the colour of gold; and the Coscile is the Sybaris. These two rivers, whose beds appear to have undergone violent changes, now unite about six miles from their mouth; and in the district which they embellish stood the two cities of Sybaris and Thurii, the former famous for its luxurious prosperity, the latter both for its public annals, and for the share which the historian Herodotus is said to have taken in its foundation. Of the first, no remains need be sought; for its destruction was as remarkable as its existence. The people of Croton annihilated it by turning the waters of the Crathis into a new channel, from which they flowed over and covered it. Even of Thurii, which was founded in its stead, no certain trace has been discovered. The magnificent Croton, the residence of Pythagoras, stood either on the exact site of the present Cotrone, or between it and the extremity of the Lacinian promontory, where there lately were considerable ruins.* The classical banks of the Neæthus, now called Neto, have lost the verdant beauty which distinguished them in the days of Theocritus.

The inlet which opened between the Lacinian promontory and that of Cocynthum (Capo di Stilo), was termed the Scylletic Gulf from the colony of Scylle-

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* Riedesel's Travels, Forster's Translation, 1773, p. 163.

tium, on whose site stands Squillace, a decayed town, which however furnishes the modern name of the bay. On the remaining part of the coast of Magna Græcia was the famous city of Locri, whose lawgiver was Zaleucus, and its poet Pindar. Its Grecian ruins have entirely disappeared. Roman remains, however, are visible on a plain of five miles, which intervenes between the sea and the commanding height (an offshoot from a magnificent labyrinth of precipices and forests), on which stands the Saracenic town of Gerace.

On the western coast only four Grecian settlements demand especial notice. The town of Reggio, prettily situated on the Strait of Messina, amidst orange groves or vineyards, and embosomed among winding hills, occupies the site of Rhegium, creditably distinguished in the history of Magna Græcia for its institutions and the spirit of its public policy. At the northern end of the strait, the well-built town of Scylla covers picturesquely a little headland, terminating in a cliff which dips sheer into the water, and is crowned by a considerable fort. Beyond the point, at the foot of the perpendicular precipice, a fantastically shaped crag of no great elevation faces the sea, and is the classical Scylla. Charybdis is an eddy called the Galofaro, on the opposite Sicilian coast, near the citadel of Messina, at the distance of three miles and three and a half furlongs.* A town called Scyllæum stood on the isthmus. Proceeding along the coast into Lucania, and passing the promontory of Palinurus, we find near the shore the ruins of Elea or Velia, a city which has many claims to remembrance; more especially for having had its early history told by Herodotus; for having founded, in the persons of Zeno and Parmenides, the Eleatic school of philosophy; and for having been the resort of Cicero and of Horace.

Inland from Elea rises the lofty range of Mount Alburnus, between which and the sea, a few miles farther

* From Scylla Rock to the Lighthouse Tower of Messina, 6047 English yards.—Smyth's Sicily, p. 107.

north, extends the low, marshy, pestilential level, on whose deserted surface rise the magnificent remains of the Greek town of Posidonia, now best known by its Roman name of Pæstum. The impressive majesty of these noble ruins is unequalled in Italy, perhaps unsurpassed in Europe. Every thing combines to increase their solemnity and grandeur: their position on the uninhabited plain, "between the mountains and the sea;" their dimensions, much greater than those of any other standing ruin in the peninsula; the patriarchal simplicity of their architecture; and even the warm hues of the yellow calcareous stone of which they are built, harmonizing with the brightness of the Italian sky. Portions of the walls and gates, of an amphitheatre and tombs, are still visible; the circuit of the city can be traced, but its mass of buildings has crumbled into furzy hillocks; and three temples alone stand erect. That which is between the two others, and which has been by conjecture designated the Temple of Neptune, the tutelary divinity of the place, is by far the finest of the three, and is one of the most characteristic of Grecian ruins. It consists of an external colonnade, supporting a massive entablature, within which was a wall enclosing the cell; while in the inside of the cell is a second colonnade, formed by two stories of smaller columns, divided by an architrave. The building is almost entire, excepting the walls of the cell, of which little remains; and the columns are unusually short for their thickness, and crowded very closely together. The edifice which, by a manifest error, has been called a Basilica, is nearly in as good preservation, but presents a style of architecture much inferior, and probably later; and its plan is remarkable for having a row of columns running longitudinally through the middle of the interior. The colonnade of the smallest ruin, called the Temple of Ceres, is not dissimilar to that of the great temple, either in proportions, or in general effect.*

* Dimensions in English feet:—I. The Temple of Neptune: length of platform, 195-4; breadth of platform, 78-10; diameter

No Roman structures rose to contrast with the severe simplicity of the Dorian shrines; for, on the colonization of Posidonia by the Romans (B. C. 272), it sunk at once into decay: the inhabitants, lingering awhile among its dwellings, held an annual day of lamentation for their lost freedom; and the conquerors soon knew the name of the city only as belonging to the spot, where grew the roses which flowered twice a-year. It was, however, an inhabited town in the ninth century, when the Saracens plundered it; Robert Guiscard the Norman repeated the spoliation in 1080; and Pæstum has ever since been a heap of ruins.

The interior of the district, of which the circuit has just been made, presents even fewer points of interest in ancient than in modern history. Consentia, the capital of the Bruttii, is now Cosenza; and to the southward of this town the mountainous centre of the peninsula is occupied by a wild and thick wood, which, extending continuously in the old times southward to Rhegium, received the name of the Brettian Forest or Forest of Sila.

SICILY.

This extensive island, equally remarkable for beauty of landscape and for the value of its natural productions, is likewise unusually interesting from its classical recollections and its magnificent remains of antiquity.

Its ancient history resembles that of Lucania and Bruttium, in presenting to our notice a chain of foreign colonies which occupied its shores, and maintained possession alternately against new invaders from without, and against the native inhabitants of the mountainous

of columns, 6-10; height of columns (with capitals), 28-11; height of entablature, 12-2; diameter of internal columns, 4-8; height of internal columns, 19 9.—II. The Pseudodipteral Temple or Basilica: length, 167-9; breadth, 80; diameter of columns, 4-9; height of columns, 21.—III. The Temple of Ceres: length, 107-9; breadth, 47-7; diameter of columns, 4-2; height of columns, 20-4. —Wilkins' Antiquities of Magna Græcia.—A fourth temple, which has been called that of Juno, was discovered in 1830, but is an utter wreck.

districts in the interior. Here, therefore, as in the south of the peninsula, it is on the coasts (and chiefly on the east and south) that we have to look for classical ruins.

The shores of the island are rugged, and in most places highly picturesque, owing as well to their fine outlines as to the richness and oriental aspect of the vegetation. The central regions are chiefly mountainous, but open out into numerous beautiful valleys, and into some extensive plains; forests, though less widely than of old, spread themselves over the hills; and the hollows present a delightful variety of meadow and arable land, of which the greater part is cultivated, however imperfectly. Etna is the loftiest mountain in Sicily; and the others form two great ranges. The Madonia chain, the ancient Montes Nebrodes, faces the northern coast, and retires thence into the middle of the country; and the range anciently called Pelorus, or Mons Neptunius, forms the north-eastern shore from Messina in a southerly direction. Towards the south-western side the heights gradually shelve downwards.

In the interior one spot only requires to be traced,—a spot whose fabled beauty has suggested to Milton an emblem of the garden of Paradise.* Enna appears in history as an impregnable fastness, and as the seat of a magnificent temple of Ceres, plundered by the infamous Verres; and its site is satisfactorily identified with that of Castro Giovanni, a hill-town of 11,000 inhabitants, in the very heart of the island. The ancient historians and geographers vie with the poets in their enthusiastic descriptions of this enchanted region, whose natural outlines were even more beautiful than the luxuriant woods and flowery turf which clothed it.

* That fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world.

The sacred meadow occupied a ridge, round which sank deep precipices, and the odour of its flowers, especially its violets, was believed to throw dogs off the scent; groves, pasturages, and parks, encompassed the rock; and in the midst of these was the Lake Pergusa, with a cave through which Pluto was fabled to have vanished with his prey. The description which travellers give of the modern aspect of the spot is humiliating: the mountains, though still grand, possess neither trees nor verdure; and the lake is a marsh four miles in circuit, filled with reeds, skirted by naked banks, and rendered pestilential by the flax which is steeped in it. The temple has disappeared; and a Saracenic castle in ruins covers one of the two heights, and a broken cross the other.*

On the eastern coast the first ancient town is Messana or Zancle, which gave occasion to the second Punic war. Messina, situated on the beautiful strait to which it gives its name, and backed by magnificent mountains, covers the site of Zancle, and conceals its few remains. Taurominium, to the south, is less celebrated for its classical history than for the splendid ruins which it has left at Taormina, in one of the most romantic landscapes conceivable. Its principal relic is its theatre, placed on a rocky hill, whence from amidst broken arches and tall palms we look out on one of the finest views of Etna. Under the foundations of Catania, near the foot of the great volcano, lie the buried wrecks of Catana, whose little stream the Amenas, and its name of Etna, temporarily conferred on it by Hiero, have been immortalized in the odes of Pindar. Still farther to the south, Lentini represents Leontium.

In a noble bay, forming its harbour, stands the fortified town of Syracuse, less interesting from its modern history or state, than from the classic recollections its

* Livii, lib. xxiv. cap. 37-39. Cicer. Orat. iv. in Verrem. Claudianus, De Raptu Proserpinæ, lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul., lib. v. sub init. Cluverii Sicilia Antiqua, lib. ii. cap. 7. Saint Non, Voyage Pittoresque, 1781, tom. iv. p. 120-125.

name awakens, of science and poetry, of heroism and oppression, of Plato, Hiero, Pindar, Theocritus, and Archimedes, of Dionysius, Dion, and Timoleon. Marcellus, on his conquest of it, though he wept over its fall, removed to Rome its treasures of art; and its ancient greatness ends with that event, unless the robberies of Verres be worthy of a place in its story. The five regions of this most splendid and famous of Sicilian cities were comprehended in a triangle more than twelve miles in compass; and their sites, with vestiges of their buildings, can still be traced. The modern town, occupying the peninsula of the quarter called Ortygia, between the smaller and greater harbours, contains the poetic fountain of Arethusa. Acradina, the largest and most populous quarter, lay on the shore, and retains only fragments of rubbish; while Tyche, situated behind it, has left still less. An avenue of tombs cut in the precipice leads to the elevated site of Neapolis, where remain an amphitheatre, and a well constructed theatre, through which passes the stream of an ancient aqueduct, turning a mill-wheel, amidst shrubs and trees. The fifth quarter, called Epipolæ, was formed by the commanding heights behind Tyche and Neapolis, now covered by a village named Belvedere. This position was fortified by Nicias, in his unsuccessful siege of the city; and some huge fragments of uncemented blocks are supposed to belong to a wall erected by Dionysius. Either in this quarter, or in the portion of Neapolis nearest to it, were the celebrated Latomiæ, stupendous excavations originally made as quarries, and afterwards, from at least as early a date as the defeat of the Athenians, used as prisons. The ground is now covered with vineyards and olive-groves; the picturesque garden of a Capuchin convent occupies the largest of the hollows; and another, called the Paradiso, contains the singular excavated passage, in the form of a Roman S, which has been called the Ear of Dionysius, and supposed, without much reason, to have been constructed as a listening place. The temple of Minerva has become the cathedral, and

that of the Olympian Jupiter has left some fallen columns; but we have lost once more the tomb of Archimedes, which Cicero was so proud of finding.

The southern coast commences with Cape Passaro, the ancient Promontorium Pachynum, to the west of which, near Modica, in the deep rocky valley of Ispica, are cliffs cut out into numerous habitations, consisting, in several instances, of two or three stories, with doors and windows.* This curious Troglodytic city, still occupied by a few peasants, must have been formed by the earliest inhabitants of the island. It has no historical name, and was probably abandoned when the foreign colonists first gained possession of the coast. In the neighbourhood, excavations on a rocky hill, surmounted by a Moorish tower, have disclosed antiquities supposed to belong to the Greek town of Camarina; and similar buried remains, near Terra Nuova, are the sole vestiges of Gela, whose immense piles Virgil represents as having been seen by Æneas in his voyage towards Carthage, and in whose plains, the Geloi Campi, the poet Æschylus died.

Acragas, a colony of Gela, called by the Romans Agrigentum, has been more fortunate; for its ruins, beside the modern Girgenti, are among the most splendid and interesting of all classical monuments. The river Girgenti, the Greek Acragas, bathes the foot of a beautiful slope, now clothed with gardens and orchards, and marked by the temples and tombs of the ancient city. The summit of the mountain, once covered by the citadel, now by the modern town, and approached by a hollow way, is 1240 feet above the level of the sea, and the picturesque richness of the scene is described as superb. The two elevated ledges, on which stood Agrigentum, are surrounded by abrupt precipices; the river divides itself into two branches, forming wooded ravines; and the vine-

* Travels of Kephalides, vol. i. letter 57; Houel, Voyage Pittoresque, tomes 3, 4.

yards, and groves of olive and almond trees, separated by hedges of the aloe and Indian fig, stretch to the sea, mantling a beautiful declivity of more than four miles square. The principal ruins stand on the ridge of one of the precipitous heights, perhaps the Athenian Rock (Rupes Athenæa) of Acragas. On this platform are remnants of a theatre,—of a little temple, now a convent-church,—columns of a beautifully proportioned Temple, called that of Juno, built of the common brown stone, and placed among carob and olive trees near the edge of the cliff,—and two other less distinct fragments of temples. The same rock presents another temple, named that of Concord, the best preserved monument in Sicily, whose columns (thirteen in depth, and six in width) are entire, while the walls of the cella, and the entablature and pediments of both fronts, are nearly so. The building is exceedingly beautiful, though connoisseurs pronounce its architecture inferior to that of the temple of Juno.* Farther down the slope lie the huge piles of ruins called the Temple of the Giants (Tempio de' Giganti), vouching for the correctness of the description which Diodorus gives of the shrine of Jupiter Olympius, but which was totally disbelieved till these remains were discovered. This structure is now one vast mass of fallen fragments, composed of the coarse-grained brown stone which is found in all the Sicilian edifices. Its half-columns have been built up in regular courses of masonry, eight blocks in each course. The foundations of two immense piers remain, dividing the interior into three naves; pieces of shafts, capitals, and entablatures, are scattered about, with some of the sculptures which the historian commends so highly; and the enormous substructions, of which he also speaks, have been partially exposed by excavations. This colossal Doric temple was the largest which the Greeks erected; and its remaining wrecks, applied to the known rules of their architecture, have enabled an eminent antiquary to

* Dimensions: entire length, 128½ English feet; breadth, 54½; length of cell, 48½; breadth of cell, 24½; height of columns, 22; their base-diameter, 4 feet 7 inches.—Smyth's Sicily, p. 210.

offer a restoration, from which we learn its dimensions with an exactness almost complete. Of all the Grecian buildings, the nearest to it in size was the great Sicilian temple of Selinus, which was only ten feet shorter; the Parthenon had exactly two-thirds of its extent; the temple of Neptune at Pæstum was little more than half as large. Dionysius says, that a man could hide himself in one of the flutings of its columns; and the modern measurements prove this assertion to be strictly true.* On a separate rock, apparently the ancient Necropolis, are innumerable tombs; and the spring of naphtha, mentioned by Pliny, still flows. As to the aqueducts and reservoir, with the remains of the forum, circus, and camps, a simple allusion is enough.

The only other town requiring notice on this shore is Selinus,—Virgil's "city of the palms." Its palm-trees have died out, and its site, on a lonely plain mantled with brushwood, between the rivers Belici and Madiuni, the Grecian Hypsa and Selinus, is covered by a wilderness of immense prostrate walls, columns, and entablatures. This place and Segeste, which have left some of the most striking ruins that exist in the island, are chiefly remarkable in ancient history for their desperate animosity to each other. Selinus was taken and rased by the Carthaginians; but the singularly regular position in which most of its fallen ruins lie, appears to indicate that earthquakes have aided in its destruction. The remains occupy two parallel ridges, separated by a sandy valley; and the most important of them are fragments of six temples, three on each ridge, of which one is, as has been just stated, the largest of all the

* Quatremère de Quincy, in the Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France; classe d' Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne, tom. ii. 1815. The dimensions calculated in the restoration proposed in the Memoir are the following, in English feet and without fractions: length of the temple externally, 351; breadth externally, 191; height of the columns, 62; height of the entablature and pediment, 52; total height, 121; circumference of the columns at the base, 39; diameter of each fluting at the base, 2 feet.

Grecian buildings, except the temple of Agrigentum, the ruins of which indeed are far less imposing.*

On the western end of the island few points possess much antiquarian importance. Marsala, on the site of Lilybæum, the great fastness of the Carthaginians, retains some antiquities. Trapani covers the ancient Drepanum, where Virgil places the tomb of Anchises; and the abrupt Mount San Giuliano, a little to the eastward, is the classical Eryx. On its summit stood the celebrated temple of Venus Erycina, surrounded by the fortifications of the citadel belonging to the town, which lay on the steep ascent. Among the ruins of a Moorish fort, polygonal walls and a few granite pillars belong to the primitive, Grecian, and Roman periods.

The coast about Mount Eryx is poetic ground, as being the scene of the fifth book of the Æneid; in which the poet attributes to the Trojans the foundation both of the magnificent temple on the height, and of the town of Ægeste, called by the Romans Segesta, which is the first remarkable spot on the northern shore of the island.

Ægeste is best known for the invitation it gave Athens to interpose in the dissensions of Sicily, and for the mean artifice by which its rulers imposed upon the Athenian envoys an exaggerated idea of its wealth. Its sins were punished by Agathocles of Syracuse; and only one fine temple and the traces of a theatre remain to attest either its Grecian splendour, or its short-lived prosperity as a Roman colony. The ruins stand near the gulf of Castellamare, about eight miles from Alcamo, in a lonely and sterile plain, whose only shade is a solitary fig-tree overhanging a well, while noble mountains rise behind. The temple is placed on a craggy hill,

* Dimensions of the temple of Jupiter at Selinus: length, 331 English feet; breadth, 161; diameter of columns at the base, 10¼ feet; height of columns, with the capitals, 48½ feet.—Wilkins' Magna Græcia, pp. 46, 47.

and its peristyle is almost entire, though the walls of the cell are wanting. The columns are not fluted, the structure has evidently been left uncompleted, and its architectural merit is not of a high order.* The beautiful city of Palermo, the modern capital of the island, stands on the site of Panormus, which, though a naval station of the Carthaginians, acted no leading part in the ancient history of Sicily, and has left no remarkable relics. Termini, which enjoys a romantic situation on the rocky coast, eastward from the metropolis, occupies nearly the place of Himera, a Greek city of note, but early destroyed. Its Thermæ have left some vestiges; and it is not unworthy of notice, that these buildings gave name successively to a new Grecian settlement, to a Roman colony, and to the modern town. In the beautiful gulf of Patti, at the summit of a striking mountain-pass, are the ruins of Tyndaris, often mentioned in Cicero's attacks on Verres.

CORSICA AND SARDINIA.

The antiquities of these islands have been quite overlooked by most students of Italian topography; but neither is believed to contain any remarkable monuments of the classical architecture, and their history makes few spots interesting for their own sake. Both are mountainous, Corsica wholly so, except a district running along its eastern coast.

In Corsica, called by the Greeks Cyrnos, the modern capital of Ajaccio is on the site of the old Uranium; and at Bastia, the other chief town of the island, was the ancient Mantinorum Oppidum. The two principal Roman colonies were that of Marius, called Mariana, an inland settlement north-west from Bastia, and that of Sylla, called Aleria or Alalia, a seaport on the eastern coast, whose ruins now, by encroachments of the land, are half a league from the water.

* Dimensions of the temple of Ægeste: length, English feet 190; breadth, feet 76-8.—Wilkins' Magna Græcia.

In Sardinia, which the Greeks called Sardo, Sandaliotis, or Ichnusa, the modern capital Cagliari occupies the site of the ancient Caralis; and the ruins of the port Olbia exist near Terranuova. Around Porto Torres, which was the Roman Turris, are more numerous vestiges of antiquity than in any other part of the country. But this island has a class of monuments of its own, probably belonging to its earliest inhabited periods, in the Round Towers, called Nuraggi, which rise, to the number of several hundreds, on hills all over its surface. They are conical buildings, vaulted like the Grecian treasure-houses, and composed of uncemented blocks of stone, generally disposed in horizontal layers. A winding staircase, carried up in the inside of the structure, between two concentric walls, usually conducts from an arched chamber below to an upper one precisely similar. The largest of these towers, which stands in the district of Busachi, eastward from Oristano, is called "Lu Nuraggi lungu," and is nearly sixty feet in height.*

The rocky but valuable isle of Elba, which belongs to the group of Corsica and Sardinia, was known to the Carthaginians and Romans by the name of Ilva or Æthalia.

THE IMPERIAL PROVINCES OF ITALY.

The preceding classification of the Italian territories, in which the occupation of districts by the ancient tribes is taken as the basis, has been generally adopted by modern writers, and connects itself far better than any other with the facts of the Roman history. But the student, especially if his attention is likely to be directed either to the writings of the Lower Empire, or to the vicissitudes of Italy itself after the irruption of the barbarians, should be acquainted with certain other arrangements introduced by successive emperors for the purposes of administration.

We have seen, that at the fall of the republic the penin-

* Cluverii Sardinia et Corsica Antiquæ; in Grævii Thesaur. Siciliæ, tom. xv.—Smyth's Sardinia.

sula was governed as one undivided province, while Sicily composed a second, and Sardinia with Corsica a third. This simple plan was abandoned by Augustus, who divided the whole of Italy, from the Var to the Arsia, and from the heights of the Alps to the southern seas, into Eleven provinces. No new nomenclature seems to have been introduced, each province being merely called a Region, and distinguished by its number, from the first to the eleventh. Each was placed under a governor of consular dignity, and therefore all of them ranked as Roman provinces of the highest class. The following were the Augustan Regions, in the order in which they were named, as they are described by Pliny.

1. Campania, to which, as we are told, Latium was added. We must recollect, however, that the authority of the prefect of Rome extended not only over the whole of Latium, but northward into Etruria, and southward a short way across the older Campanian border; so that, even under the early imperial system, this extensive district was, in regard to jurisdiction and civil government, cut off from the provinces on both sides of it. 2. Apulia, with the Hirpinian district taken from Samnium. 3. Lucania and Bruttium. 4. The remainder of Samnium, and the region of the Central Apennines. 5. Picenum. 6. Umbria. 7. Etruria. 8. The Cispadane part of Cisalpine Gaul, separated from Umbria by the river Rubicon, and bounded on its other sides by the Apennine, the Po, and the Adriatic. The name of Flaminia, which some modern geographers give to this province, seems to rest on no early authority, and is objectionable, if invented, from its tendency to create mistakes between this region and one which really bore the same name afterwards. 9. Liguria. 10. The region which Cellarius aptly calls the Transpadana Maritima. It was chiefly composed of Venetia and Istria; but to these was added that district of Cisalpine Gaul which had been occupied by the Cenomanni, so that it included Brixia, Cremona, and Mantua. 11. The Transpadana Subalpina of Cellarius, which, with the exception just

specified, embraced the whole portion of Cisalpine Gaul that lay between the Po and the Alps.

The administrative arrangement which next followed, possesses much interest as to the subsequent history of Italy; since it was, directly or indirectly, the groundwork of all the most important political divisions established in the middle ages, and of some that have survived till the present day. Several of its details, however, are but imperfectly known, and, as some authorities refer it to Hadrian, even its origin is disputed. We may here be contented with learning, that the plan was completely developed by Constantine, that it formed a part of that great system of his which has been explained in another place,* and that it remained unchanged at the fall of the Western Empire.

Constantine, adding to the former Italian territories some regions beyond the old Alpine frontier, divided Italy and its islands into seventeen provinces. The new districts were three :—1. The Alpes Cottiæ, or region of Mount Cenis, having for its chief town Segusio or Susa; 2. and 3. Rhetia, chiefly contained in the Grisons and Tyrol, and divided into two provinces.

The provinces embraced in Italy itself were Eleven, to which the Notitia Utriusque Imperii, a treatise belonging to the Theodosian age, gives the following names. —1. " Venetia and Istria." This province seems to have substantially coincided with the tenth region of Augustus; and part of it continued united in the dark ages, forming the duchy or march of Friuli. 2. " Liguria." Under this name was included not only Liguria Proper, but the whole, or nearly the whole, of Transpadane Gaul. The seat of the local government was at Milan; and in the sixth century of our era the province became the kernel of the Lombardic kingdom in Italy. 3. " Æmilia." This province, which retained its new title for several centuries, contained the modern duchies of Parma and Modena, with the extensive territory that once belonged

* See Chapter II. of this part, p. 108 of the volume.

to the city of Bologna. 4. "Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium." The former of these two regions, and that which precedes it in the list, derived their names from the great Roman highways which traversed them respectively. Flaminia became, as one portion of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the last stronghold of the Grecian emperors in the West; and afterwards, passing to the Popedom, it was called Romagna from its previous occupants.* The second region of the same province cannot be identified with perfect certainty, but there is not much reason to doubt that, without including any part of the Picenum of classical times, it consisted of that portion of the ancient Umbria which lay on the eastern side of the Apennine, and is chiefly covered by the duchy of Urbino. 5. "Picenum Suburbicarium." In this province was included a part, or more probably the whole, of the Roman Picenum, which in the dark ages was called the Pentapolis, and afterwards the march or marquisate of Ancona. The difficulties which occur in fixing the boundaries of this and the preceding province arise chiefly from the fact that, after the fall of the empire, the whole tract which is composed of them was never for any considerable period placed under separate masters. 6. "Tuscia and Umbria." Both of the two beautiful districts here classed together have always continued to feel the effects of their new arrangement. The latter comprehended not by any means the whole of the ancient Umbria, but merely that portion of it which lay on the western side of the Apennine. The duchy of Spoleto, formed in the dark ages, corresponded almost exactly to the boundaries thus indicated. Tuscia was the name for Etruria; but this old province was dismembered like the other, for the new one included only that

* Some writers state Romagna to be identical with Æmilia, which is manifestly wrong; although the territory of the Exarchate did, at more than one point of time, extend into Æmilia; and although, likewise, the popes asserted that Bologna and other parts of Æmilia were included in the deed by which Pepin granted to them the Exarchate.

northern part of it which makes up the modern Tuscany. The reason for the separation is easily found; for the district of the City-prefect embraced the southern parts of Etruria, and this imperial office accordingly forms one step in the progress of events which gave half of that province to the Papal See. 7. "Valeria." An obscure town, now altogether lost, gave rise to this appellation, which comprised all those districts so often mentioned already as embracing the Central Apennine. 8. "Samnium." This region, contained substantially within its ancient limits, became in later times the duchy of Beneventum, which, however, speedily extended itself on all sides far beyond the Samnite borders. 9. "Campania;" 10. "Apulia;" 11. "Lucania and Bruttium." These three provinces retained their ancient limits as well as names; and the second of them, receiving the title of Puglia, formed in the dark ages the earliest seat of the kingdom of Naples.

The three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, making one province each, complete the number stated at the commencement.

These provinces were of different classes, according to their relative size and consequence. Those which are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9, together with Sicily, stood in the first rank, having Consular governors; the provinces 10 and 11 were in the second order, and governed by Correctors; and 7 and 8, with the three Alpine districts, as well as Corsica and Sardinia, were administered by Præsides, and belonged to the lowest class.

CHAPTER IX.

Illustrations of the Character, Habits, Commerce, and Productive Industry of the Ancient Italians.

FIRST PERIOD: LATINO-ETRUSCAN: Religion—Education—Agriculture—Mechanical Arts—Trade—Magna Græcia and the Islands—Illustrative Examples—Money-making—Morality—Miscellaneous Habits. SECOND PERIOD: ITALO-GRECIAN: *Religion*—State of Belief—Superstitions—Ghosts—Witches—*Morality*—Mixed Character of the Republican Statesmen—Crimes of the Imperial Court—Meanness of the Imperial Senators—Morality of the People—Ancient Brigands—Illustrations of Imperial Epicureanism and Reverses—*Intellectual Cultivation*—Course of Education—Endowed Schools—Libraries—Booksellers—Newspapers and their Contents—*Classes of Society*—Haughtiness of the Nobles—No Middle Class—Markets for Slaves—Their Occupations and Treatment—Their Rebellions—Freedmen—*Amusements*—The Theatre and Improvised Drama—The Circus—Gladiators—Wild Beasts—Marine Theatres—Fondness for Spectacles—Aristocratic Amusements—Readings—Improvvisatori—Court Pageants—*Industry and Commerce*—Rural Economy—The Roman Corn-laws—Vicissitudes of Agriculture—Grazing—Tillage—Labourers and Leases—Crops—Gardens—Orchards—Mechanical Arts and Trade—Stages of Luxury—Native Manufactures—Obstacles to Commerce—Italian Exports—Imports from Europe—From Asia—From Africa. THIRD PERIOD: GRECO-ORIENTAL: Pagan Religion—Education—The College of Rome and its Statutes—Spectacles—Illustrations of Character—Foreign Trade—Guilds and Manufactures—Agricultural Serfs—Misery and Depopulation of Italy—Universal Hopelessness.

THE preceding chapters exhibit an outline, which we must fill up for ourselves by the study of ancient writings and monuments. Such research will at every step

unfold truths with which it is essential to store the mind, if we would rightly apprehend the position of the Romans as political legislators and votaries of literature and science, or if we would appreciate those works of art which in the classical ages received birth or shelter in Italy. Of those numberless illustrations, some have been indicated incidentally as we proceeded; but, before we quit the heathen times, we must combine these with additional elucidations in one view, and suggest a few facts which throw light on secondary though important sections of the Roman annals.*

Proceeding to traverse this ground, we may regard the character, manners, and industry of the nation, as having passed through three successive stages.

The earliest, which may be carried down through the first five centuries of the city, will be found to end soon after the triumph of the democracy; and its aspect will be substantially described if we style it the Latino-Etruscan period. It developed much of the evil that was in the national character; but it also created and put in action all the elements of its primitive grandeur. By the native influences of this age, and probably in that part of it when the Latins and Sabines alone constituted the state, was formed the husbandman-soldier of Rome, with his rude and stern patriotism, his inaptitude for receiving new impressions, his love of agriculture and of war, his thirst for freedom, and his pride. The characteristics afterwards derived from the Etruscans were at first ingrafted on the ruling class only; but both the

* The references made in this chapter, whether to classical or secondary authorities, are mainly intended for leading the student to a few of the most useful sources of information. An acknowledgment of all the obligations which the present sketch owes, both to general treatises on Roman Antiquities and to such as illustrate special sections, would be equally cumbrous and unnecessary. But a recent work of high continental celebrity, Schlosser's Geschichte der alten Welt und ihrer Cultur (9 vols. 1826-1834), must be named as having, both here and elsewhere, suggested many views and indicated many materials.

superstition of Etruria and its useful arts spread in time through the whole nation; and when its character had received these new features, it was ready to fulfil its destiny of conquering the world.

The second period, which may be called the Italo-Grecian, continued till about the extinction of the Antonines. Although, throughout the whole duration of ancient history, the political relations and institutions of Rome preserved an aspect strictly Italian and independent, yet this was far from being true as to the structure of private life and manners, which, from the commencement of this second era down to the fall of the empire, underwent a strong, constant, and increasing amalgamation with foreign elements. In the age now spoken of, the Greek admixture was evidently the most powerful. Most things, also, that were changed in the national character between the time of Cato and that of Marcus Aurelius, were altered for the worse: the nation became not only weaker but more immoral; the age was one of wealth and voluptuousness. The wealth was ill divided; but yet it flowed far around, oftenest as the price of sin, paid for by the rich and committed by the poor: the voluptuousness diffused itself still more widely, and, in an incalculable degree, more ruinously; for the state suffered infinitely less from the expensive luxury of the great, than from that appetite for debasing amusements and that unprincipled idleness, which infected the whole mass of the beggared populace. But even in this age the ancient martial spirit still survived; and no other nation has ever continued to be vigorous so long after having become sensual and utterly corrupted.

The third period, extending between the Antonines and Odoacer, saw the last spark of Roman greatness quenched in darkness. The evident tendency of this age entitles us to describe it as the Greco-Oriental; for there was much less of Italian in it than of Greek, and less of Greek than of the effeminacy, the cowardice, and the superstitions of the Asiatics. A debasing weakness had long been flowing in as an under-current; but

about the time of Septimius Severus it floated up, and thenceforth constituted the body of the stream. The remainder of the Roman annals composes as melancholy a page as any in the book of human history. Virtue, learning, and freedom had perished together; and the feeblest nation of the east never crouched lower beneath the scourge of despotism, than did those who trod daily on the graves of Manlius and the Gracchi.

THE FIRST PERIOD:

ENDING A.U. 500, OR B.C. 254.

The Latin and Sabine legends, and the ritual of the Etruscans, united in forming the primitive religion of Rome. These three tribes took as much from the Grecian religion as might satisfy us, though there were no other proof, that, in one sense or another, they and the Greeks had a common origin. But the Italian mythology possessed a peculiar nomenclature, as well as many other distinctive features.

The Sabines and Latins worshipped the powers of external nature in a less disguised form than the Hellenic race, and with much of a very beautiful symbolic ceremonial. For many centuries the Roman, who by night crossed the Forum, was reminded of the elemental worship of his ancestors by the gleam of the many lamps which illuminated the open temple of the Moon on the Palatine Hill.* The Sun, too, and the Earth by the name of Ops, had each a shrine; and to the same system belonged the adoration of Vesta, with that of Volcanus the god of the central fires. The divinities of the fields, the woods, the springs, and the mountains, had their worship made at once local and useful by ceremonies which identified themselves with the history of the people. Such were, for the gods of the forest-pastures, the sacrifices of the Lupercal priests; and

* Varro De Linguâ Latinâ, lib. iv.; edit. Bipont. 1788, p. 20. Taciti Annal. lib. xv. cap. 41.

for the deities of agriculture, the hymns of the Arval Brethren. The evil spirits were likewise propitiated. Among these may be instanced Robigus, the god of mildew; and the gods of the dead, who, under the name of Lares, were made the guardians of life and of the household-hearth. The elemental faith and the hero-worship were mixed up yet more intimately in such legends as those of the prophetic Latian king Picus, of king Faunus and the nymph Marica, of Juturna, Feronia, with other Latian and Sabine goddesses, and of the wise and fair Egeria, who rose nightly from her fountain to speak with Numa.* The Sabine religion had likewise a strong allegorical turn, which was instanced in the worship of Salus, of Fortis Fortuna, and of the three gods of good faith, Semo, Fidius, and Sancus, who had a joint temple on the Quirinal.

From the Etruscans came the few mystical ceremonies of the Roman religion, all its gloomiest superstitions, and the whole of that most important section of it which sought to predict future events in the moral world by the observation of their types in physical nature. This last branch formed the system of the Auspices and Auguries. Rome, too, like the Etrurian towns, had a mysterious name, which could not be pronounced without sacrilege; and it was also under the especial protection of one guardian spirit; but his name likewise was concealed, from a fear, as it was alleged, lest the enemies of the state should practise against it a ceremony used by the early Romans themselves, of evoking the gods of a besieged town and inviting them to migrate to the home of the invaders.* The Etruscans also taught their neighbours to appease the angry divinities by human sacrifices. Prisoners of war were, during the first six centuries of the city, repeatedly buried alive in compliance with this cruel superstition; and for ages afterwards the primitive rite of casting living victims into the Tiber was commemorated annually in May by the Vestal Virgins,

* Plinii Histor. Natur. lib. iii. cap. 5; lib. xxviii. cap. 2.

who threw wicker figures into the water from the Sublician Bridge.* A kindred belief founded that terrible self-sacrifice which was executed by the two Decii. The victim, in a set form of prayer, called down on himself the anger of the gods; after which he plunged among the enemy, and the curse which had descended on his head passed to those who slew him.†

Till the end of the fifth century of Rome, the religion of the nation may be viewed as having commanded general respect and belief. The faith in omens spread, till every accident of life had its predictive meaning; and to the auguries of the Etruscans was added judicial astrology, for Chaldean soothsayers are mentioned in the sixth century as already common.‡ Magical rites also were practised from a very early age. The people believed that sorcerers could raise spirits; and a demon much dreaded, but much courted for his prophetic communications, was Jupiter Elicius, who appeared in tempest and lightnings, and slew Tullus Hostilius. The framers of the Twelve Tables provided for the punishment of malicious wizards, especially those who wrought spells to injure the harvest, or to transport a standing crop from one field to another.§ But charms and amulets were lawful for averting magic, and for all purposes not injurious to others. Cato gravely recommends, that for the cure of dislocated limbs certain ceremonies should be used, and certain magical gibberish muttered, according to forms of which he gives us three separate sets: though he also prudently advises that the spell be helped by the application of splints to the injured member.‖ Talismans, to protect the wearer from the

* Ovidii Fastor. lib. v., v. 621; Varro, lib. vi. ad vocem "Argei."

† Livii Histor. lib. viii. cap. 9; lib. x. cap. 28.

‡ Cato De Re Rusticâ, cap. v.: "Villici Officia."

§ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 2. Servius in Virgilii Eclogam viii., v. 99.

‖ Cato De Re Rusticâ, cap. 160. The following is one of the forms: "Huat haut haut ista sis tar sis ardaunabon dunnaustra."

evil eye and other perils, were in general use throughout the whole ancient period of Italian history.

During this age the state did nothing for public instruction, except sending a few patrician boys annually into Etruria to learn the rites of divination. This practice naturally made the language of that district an aristocratic accomplishment; and it was so considered till the Greek superseded it.* Attendance in the forum and the senate, with the instructions of parents at home, completed the education of the young nobles for political life; and athletic exercises, followed by an early enrolment in the army, prepared them to act as soldiers and commanders. The little learning which fell to the lot of the people at large was communicated in public schools, frequented by the boys and girls of all ranks, and situated, in early times, as we see from the story of Virginia, in the quarter of the forum where stood the tradesmen's shops.

Agriculture was the business of the whole nation, from which their incessant wars furnished to them such a relaxation as the chase did to the barons and vassals of the middle ages. Indeed, in the earliest centuries of Rome, the town could scarcely be considered as the proper residence of its citizens. Its constant population included few besides the magistrates and other functionaries, the artisans, who were far from being numerous, and some of the public and private slaves: the rest of the people had their dwelling-houses on the farms around the walls, and entered the city only for the markets or to attend meetings. But agriculture itself was long very imperfect in the adjoining region. In the oldest republican times, the poorer citizens cultivated their narrow allotments of land chiefly as kitchen-gardens; and though the small space unoccupied by esculent herbs enabled the husbandman to raise a little grain, yet the quantity

* Cicero De Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 41. Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 1. Livii Histor. lib. ix. cap. 36.

produced in the whole district scarcely ever sufficed to support its inhabitants. In the first century of the commonwealth, eight years of dearth and six pestilences taught the Romans how precarious was their position:* indeed they could not have lived but for the pillage of their wars, and the contributions exacted from conquered tribes. The richer citizens, however, soon joined the rearing of a few cattle to the husbandry of grain and herbs; and in the fourth century, when the territory of Rome had begun permanently to extend itself, agriculture rapidly improved. To its former objects it added the general cultivation of the vine, the olive, a few fruit-trees, and some new sorts of corn; the flocks and herds were also large and lucrative; but the more valuable plants of Italy were still subordinate to the kitchen-garden, the sheep-pasture, and the corn-field; and even these, the favourite branches of rural economy, continued to be managed very unskilfully.

On the early state of the mechanical arts in Middle Italy, our information must be gleaned from the few monuments still remaining of architecture and the other liberal pursuits. We learn something, but not much, from the history of the guilds of tradesmen in Rome, nine of which were traditionally ancient. Eight of these comprehended the goldsmiths, the bronzesmiths, the carpenters, the potters, the dyers, the shoemakers, the skinners, and the musicians; and all the remaining classes of artisans were united in a ninth. The guilds, after suffering several checks, were formally recognised in the laws of the Twelve Tables; and thenceforth they flourished and increased. In the years of the city 259 and 316 were formed two merchant-companies, or rather societies of petty shopkeepers, the guild of Mercury and the Capitoline.

The commercial dealings of the native Italians with foreign countries were still very limited. The fleets of the Carthaginians swept the Mediterranean; and at the

* Dearths, A.U. 246, 261, 263, 313, 315, 321, 322, 344: Pestilences, A. U. 291, 301, 320, 321, 323, 328.

beginning of the first Punic War, one of their leaders declared that he would not let the Romans so much as wash their hands in the seas of Sicily. Several treaties, however, had already settled terms on which the latter were allowed to trade, both with Carthage itself and with its settlements in Barbary and the Italian Islands. The severity of the conditions evinces the weakness of the new Latin state; and the irregular laws of ancient commercial navigation are illustrated by the uniform tenor of those compacts; for though they are all aimed against piracy, yet none goes farther than to stipulate that neither party shall plunder on the coasts belonging to the other or its allies.

But in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, we must recollect that Southern Italy and Sicily then flourished even more than Greece. Carthage, inhabited by wealthy merchants, was the best market for the Greek cities, particularly for the wine and oil which were grown in their neighbourhood, and for the corn of Sicily and Sardinia. The latter island also, it is not improbable, furnished from its mines materials to the ingenious metal-workers of Barbary; the Lipari isles sent their resin; Corsica exported its wax, its honey, and its hardy mountaineers as slaves; and Elba not only worked its celebrated iron mines, but smelted the ore before it was exported. The Carthaginian merchants, usually sailing in their own vessels, frequented in crowds Syracuse and the other Grecian harbours; and before the end of the fifth century of Rome, their wares had entered the city. Captive negroes from the interior of Africa were a principal branch of their exports to the Italian coasts; which also received their gold, precious stones, and manufactures;* and the Romans seem moreover to have purchased from them agricultural tools, with other articles of smith work.†

* Heeren, Historical Researches: The African Nations (English translation), vol. i.; Carthage, chapters ii. and v. and Appendix.

† Plautus in Pœnulo, act. v. sc. 2; in Aululariâ, act. iii. sc. 6, v. 30.

In the third century of the city, the warlike husbandman of Rome had his representative in the proud patrician Cincinnatus. Two hundred years later, the same qualities were united with more honesty in the persons of Fabricius and Curius Dentatus, the adversaries of Pyrrhus and the Samnites; and the national character then began to undergo a change, which, before the middle of the sixth century, had ended in a complete disappearance of the early rudeness. But even in that altered age, the primitive temper existed in all its original strength, with a little of its good and very much of its evil, in the person of Cato the Censor, the last of the ancient Romans. This celebrated man's superstition has been already noticed; but, like every other feeling in his mind, it was modified by his practical, shrewd, calculating temper. In his agricultural treatise he gives minute directions for offerings to Silvanus to secure the health of the cattle, and for propitiating the woodland divinities before pruning or cutting down timber-trees. But he peremptorily forbids the overseer to be religious on his own account; he is to consult no diviners or magicians, and to offer no sacrifices for himself except the Compitalia to the household gods, which were a prerogative of the slaves.* We are initiated at once into the groundwork of the old Roman character, and into the details of an ancient household, when we read the Censor's directions for building his country-mansion, with its offices and fences, his extracts from the family receipt-book, his advice to the master of the establishment, his summary of the duties of a bailiff, his list of places where agricultural purchases may be best made, and his frequent rules of homely and even niggardly thrift.†

If we investigate the morality of those early ages, we shall discover far more to blame than to admire. Still

* Cato De Re Rusticâ, cap. 5, 84, 135, 140, 142; also Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. i. cap. 8.
† Cato De Re Rusticâ, cap. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14, 15, 136, 142, 143.

the old Roman was commonly pure in the bosom of his family; and the domestic virtues offer us some beautiful pictures from the first republican times. Severe laws limited the freedom of the female sex, and constituted the head of a family the judge and king of his own house, with the power of life and death over his offspring and even his wife. But the feelings and habits of the nation disarmed those legislative enactments: the Roman father was his children's patron and friend; the Roman matron, living openly in the midst of her family, and mixing freely with their associates, was the companion and adviser of her husband and her children. The laws made divorce easy; and yet there was no recorded case of their application till the year of the city 520.* But even of the vices of later times we see, towards the end of this period, some alarming indications, accompanied by circumstances characteristic of the proud and fierce temper of the republican state. Poisoning appeared for the first time in 422, while the self-devoting patriotism of the Samnite war was at its height. One hundred and seventy women of rank in the city were apprehended on a charge of having conspired to destroy the males of their families, several of whom had died suddenly. Twenty of the females, accused as the prompters of the crime, consulted together, and offered to prove their innocence, by drinking the medicaments said to be poisoned: they swallowed the draught, and expired in convulsions; the rest, being condemned, were executed within the walls of the prison.†

The public virtue of the Romans, vaunted by their own historians and applauded by modern writers, was too often nothing better than the spirit of pride, faction, and ambition. The conduct of Cincinnatus and that of Camillus are two pregnant examples; and deeds of patriotism, pure from this taint, are very rare in the early history of the commonwealth. It is still more difficult to

* Auli Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. iv. cap. 3.
† Livii Histor. lib. viii. cap. 18.

discover an act or a character which exhibits generosity, or even common equity, in the connexion of the Romans with the neighbouring Italian tribes. The policy of the state, unsparingly put in force by its soldiers, did indeed derive some excuse from the savage rules common in all ancient wars; but it was still sufficiently shocking, and often dishonest, even in comparison with the conduct of contemporary nations. Their cruelty was glaringly exhibited in the celebrated processions of triumph. Besides the plunder of the conquered enemy, there were exhibited the prisoners of war, men, women, and children, led through the streets in chains, insulted and misused. When the train reached the forum, it stood still; on which the victorious general from his chariot ordered the chief captives to be led into the adjoining Mamertine prison and despatched: and the procession then climbed the Capitoline Hill, but paused again on its brow till the executioners reported that their victims were dead.* Pontius, the brave and generous captain of the Samnites, died thus by the headsman's axe in the year 462, after having feasted the eyes of the savage multitude. This horrible barbarity seems to have arisen out of the unjust and insolent maxim of the Romans, that all their Italian adversaries were to be considered as subjects in rebellion. The rule, however, of executing at least the commander of the enemy, subsisted long after the wars of the nation were carried on in foreign countries; and, till the time of Pompey, the populace marvelled, if they did not murmur, at the forbearance of a general who spared all his prisoners. Those who were not executed became slaves, they and their children, to the last generation. In the earlier centuries, indeed, the enslaved captives were treated more kindly than in later times; for the Roman citizens were then less haughtily reserved, and less pampered by luxuries; the prisoners

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* Onuphrius Panvinius De Triumpho, cap. 1: ap. Græviuum, Thes. Antiq. Rom. tom. ix.

were Italians like themselves, and were not yet so numerous as to be feared, But the precarious situation of the slaves is proved by a single sentence in Cato's treatise. Sell, says the hard-hearted Censor, sell for what they will bring, old oxen, diseased sheep, worn-out ploughs and iron tools, aged or sickly slaves, and all such useless lumber.*

Nothing can aid us better in forming an image of early Roman manners, than those miscellaneous pictures which are presented in some scenes of Plautus, and which, though they were painted from life in the sixth century of the city, are more nearly akin to the age preceding their own date than to that which followed it. The old dramatist gives us satirical descriptions of the haunts frequented in Rome by the usurers, the victuallers, the diviners, and the other ministers of growing luxury; he jests dryly on the combinations of the provision-traders, and the roguery of the bankers; he describes the fishmongers carrying about stale fish on lame asses, butchers as selling ewes' flesh for lambs', and bakers as creating a nuisance by the herds of swine in their back-courts; he presents to us the hired slave-cooks and music-girls, with the whole other apparatus which an entertainment called into action; he gives a comically-caricatured list of the artists who even in his time were laid under contribution to set forth a Roman lady's wardrobe; he relates the police regulations of the streets and of the theatres; and he delineates a most lively picture of the merry side of life in slavery, with some touches of its sadder colours, and continual exemplifications of its demoralizing consequences.†

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* Cato De Re Rusticâ, cap. 2.

† Plautus in Curculione, act. iii. sc. 1, act. iv. sc. 1; in Truculento, act. i. sc. 1; in Capteivis, act. iii. sc. 1, act. iv. sc. 1; in Aululariâ, act. ii. sc. 4-9, act. iii. sc. 1, 5; in Amphitryone, Prologo, act. i. sc. 1; in Pœnulo, Prologo; in Persâ, passim; in Trinummo, act. iv. sc. 3; in Bacchidibus, passim.

THE SECOND PERIOD:

A.U. 500—933, OR B.C. 254—A.D. 180.

As this second period of Roman character and society embraces the leading events recorded in the political annals, it will furnish a convenient opportunity for describing in detail the most remarkable of the national habits and customs.

Religion.

The religion of Rome, which resembled all other pagan creeds in relying on a series of gross frauds, went farther than any of them in the boldness of its interference with active life. This policy for a time strengthened the system by nourishing general superstition; but, as speculation gradually went abroad, the very same cause began to produce the opposite effect. The people became indifferent, not only through familiarity, but through suspicion of deceit and imposture; the educated men treated with contempt, or with positive hostility, a mummery which, as statesmen, they had taken a share in inventing; and long before the fall of the republic, faith in the national creed was extinct among the higher ranks. We cannot more fairly estimate the tone of religious feeling in the last age of the commonwealth than from the wavering and temporizing mind of Cicero; and no better example can be selected from his works than the contradiction between that opinion as to the auspices and auguries which, talking as a politician, he gravely expresses in his treatise on Laws, and that which, throwing aside views of expediency, he ventures to propound in his philosophical work on Divination.

The temples still abounded in miracles, which the men of letters regarded with as little respect as the rites of the diviners. A Falerian family, called the Hirpi, walked barefoot over burning coals at the annual sacrifice on Mount Soracte: Varro flatly asserted

that they previously anointed their feet.* At Egnatia, in Apulia, the fire on an altar lighted itself; and on that of the Lacinian Juno, standing in the open air, the ashes lay unmoved by the highest winds. Horace is outrageous in his mirth at the expense of the self-igniting flame; and both of it and the Lacinian miracle Pliny quietly says, that the phenomena seem to be facts, but are to be accounted for by causes purely natural.† Even in the republic, and still more decidedly under the empire, the old traditions and their rites fell into utter neglect, unless they happened to be susceptible of practical and political application. An interesting instance is furnished by Juvenal's lamentation over the desecrated Fount of Egeria.‡ Chapels and artificial grottos had been built in the wood and the sacred valley; but the altars were deserted and broken, and the unfurnished buildings were inhabited by a few starving Jews, the gipsies of imperial Rome, who slept upon hay-trusses spread on the ground.

But neither instructed men nor the multitude could bear to want religion. The former took refuge in the metaphysical theologies of the Greek philosophers; the latter indemnified themselves for the absence of a common and stable faith by a thousand superstitions of their own, in many of which the better-informed class did not disdain to join them. The omens multiplied incredibly; and no historian, either of the republic or of the empire, neglects to devote entire chapters to them; for while Livy's credulity is notorious, Tacitus is as minute in his details of marvels as Suetonius or the compilers of the Augustan History. Foreign rites, likewise, akin to those of the national religion, repeatedly intruded. The earliest remarkable instance, in the year of the city 567, was the horrible story of the Bacchanalian Mysteries, whose infamous debaucheries were promptly

* Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 2. Servius in Virgilii Æneid. lib. xi. v. 785.

† Horat. lib. i. sat. v. v. 97: Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 107.

‡ Juvenalis Satir. iii. v. 11–20.

expelled; but in the imperial times the Egyptian Isis had her permanent temples beside those of Bellona and Cybele; and these three sets of fanes, frequented by females of rank, were the scenes of gross depravity.* Oriental astrologers and interpreters of dreams were to be found every where; and under the emperors the latter trade was chiefly exercised in the apartments of the Roman ladies by poor Jewish women.† When a star shot from the sky, the populace believed that at that moment the person expired, on whose birth the bright orb had taken its place in the heavens.‡ The emperor Tiberius, who was skilled in astrology, watched the stars from the cliffs of his island of Capreæ; and Nero was a yet more ardent student of supernatural secrets. An eastern wizard initiated him in the banquets of the Magi; and, when an evil conscience had raised the ghost of his murdered mother, his sorcerers strove in vain, by mysterious rites, to banish the angry shade.§

The power of magicians to raise the dead was long doubted or denied by the learned; and the elder Pliny mentions with merriment that he had seen the Greek Apion. This man had discovered the marvellous root osyrites (perhaps the mandrake of the middle ages), which was a preservative against poisons, but cost life to him who pulled it; and he had evoked the shade of Homer, to question him as to the place of his birth, but professed that he durst not repeat the answer which the spirit had given.‖ On the other hand, it was never doubted that ghosts were wont to rise of their own accord. The same writer avows his belief of such occurrences, after relating gravely, as an incident really supernatural, a palpable trick played by Sextus Pompeius in his campaign against Julius Cæsar; and Pliny's

* Livii Hist. lib. xxxix. cap. 8, &c. Juvenalis Sat. vi. v. 510, &c.
† Juvenalis Satir. vi. v. 545.
‡ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 8.
§ Taciti Annal. lib. vi. cap. 21. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 2. Suetonius in Nerone, cap. 34.
‖ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 2.

nephew is still more unequivocal in the confession of faith which he makes in telling several stories of apparitions, one of which happened to a freedman of his own, and is the most foolish of the series.* One of his legends, the well-told adventure of Athenodorus at Athens, with its haunted house advertised, its murdered man buried in the court, and its chains clanking at midnight, is in every particular a ghost-story suited to modern times; and, indeed, it is little more than an amplification of the lying tale invented by the roguish slave Tranio in Plautus, in which we detect the original of Ben Jonson's Alchemist.†

Even before Augustus, witchcraft in Rome had become, in some of its most gloomy features, very like what it was in the middle ages. Love-charms and philtres were dangerously common; and a draught of this kind is said to have driven Caligula mad.‡ For destroying an enemy, a waxen figure was exposed to a slow fire, with ceremonies closely resembling those which were practised for the same end a thousand years later. Virgil's description of the love-spells, indeed, is too poetical, and too Grecian; but Horace has some pictures which, though highly coloured, are evidently sketched from the life.§ His witches are described as burying an unhappy boy to the neck in the court-yard of their house, that he might die of hunger, and his heart be infused in a love-potion; and in another scene we behold them practising the charm for killing an enemy. An extensive area on the outer declivity of the Esquiline Mount, not far from the place now covered by the ruins of the Baths of Titus, was, in the republican times, a burying-ground for slaves and executed criminals; and some tombs of a higher class lay also in the same quarter of the hill. Mæcenas, it is true, had

* Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 52. Plinii, lib. vii. ep. 27.

† Plauti Mostellariæ, actus ii. scena 2.

‡ Suetonius in Caligulâ, cap. 50.

§ Virgilii Eclog. viii. sub finem. Horatii Epodon od. 5, 17, 18; lib. i. satir. viii.

enclosed the whole within his splendid gardens; but the hags, accustomed to collect there the bones of the dead and the magic herbs, are represented as still resorting to the spot. The moon goes down behind the sepulchres while they dig a ditch, kill a black lamb in it, chant shrill and melancholy spells to raise the ghosts, and light a fire before which the waxen image of their victim melts away.

Morality.

A correct estimate of the state of morality in this long period could not be made, without a detail of particulars far too numerous for these pages. A very few facts must suffice to preface those incidental illustrations, which will present themselves as we rapidly review the state of public instruction and general reading, the divisions of society, the nature of the public spectacles, and the system of rural economy, manufactures, and foreign trade.

The two centuries of the republic which still remain to be considered, display a quick progress towards the immorality of the empire; and indeed, though vice was never in the free state so monstrously triumphant as under the bad emperors, yet before the accession of Augustus scenes of equal guilt were acted on a smaller stage. The purity of private life was all but extinct in the last days of the commonwealth; and the few recorded instances of domestic virtue soon became exceptions amidst a prevailing dissoluteness, to which the most depraved society in Christian times has been immeasurably superior. But while licentiousness thus increased, cruelty waxed strong likewise. The depravation of Roman morals has been said to have been caused, or at least most fatally accelerated, by two powerful agents. One was the profligate example of the court in most ages of the empire, which diffused through the whole body of the state those vices that previously had been chiefly confined to the wealthier classes: the second was the barbarous nature of the favourite spec-

tacles, which familiarized the people to blood long before the fall of the republic. But it must be emphatically added, that domestic slavery had a stronger demoralizing tendency than either, and united the bad effects of both.

If we examine the character of the great statesmen of the republic in their relation to the commonwealth, we shall discover, in undecayed strength, the old spirit of proud factiousness. It was this very temper that trained a mind like that of Julius Cæsar, in so many points noble and generous, to enslave his country without remorse or hesitation; because he had learned to consider the state, and saw every other leader ready to consider it, as justly the property of any man or any faction possessing power and courage enough to seize it. It was the same temper that baffled the plans of Augustus for founding an hereditary empire, and made Rome under his successors an elective despotism in the hands of the soldiery. This cast of mind had in it a kind of irregular grandeur, which is apt to dazzle the imagination,—an appearance that deceives many of us in those last acts of the great Scipio Africanus, which truly sprang from the evil principle in its most active operation. When Scipio was charged (no doubt falsely) with having embezzled the public money in the war with Antiochus, the tribunes asked him in the senate whether he possessed accounts to vouch his transactions. He replied that he did, held up a scroll which, he said, contained the information they wanted, and tore it to pieces before their eyes. Afterwards, on his impeachment, when he rose to answer his accusers, he reminded the people that the day was the anniversary of the battle of Zama; and, without adding a word as to the charge against him, summoned them to accompany him, and thank the gods in the Capitol.

The bad spirit which dictated this scornful resistance to the laws, and which, in the end, ruined the commonwealth, was in Scipio palliated by many admirable

qualities, and by more and loftier talents and virtues in some other men who did honour to the period of the civil wars. That age cannot be too minutely studied; and the spectacle which it offers of high intellect and cultivation, united with ability in action and courage in the midst of danger, is one to which no other era in the history of the world has presented a parallel.

In passing to the character of the imperial times, we must unfortunately dismiss in haste, as rare exceptions, such men as Thrasea Pætus and Agricola; with such females as the elder Agrippina and Arria the elder and younger. For the aspect of the times in general, it may be enough to take one isolated feature from each of the three great sections of national life,—the court, the senate-house, and the haunts of the people.

The reign of crime in the imperial palaces during the worst times, was a fearfully exaggerated prototype of those horrors which stained the petty courts of Italy in the later of the middle ages. The Roman series of executions and confiscations, indeed, prompted solely by suspicion or avarice, has had no equal since its own days; but there have been repeated likenesses of the imperial mixture of lewdness, cruelty, unbridled passions, and extravagance of refinement. There was much of a modern taste in Nero's favourite amusement of scouring the streets by night, insulting every one he met, and sometimes returning to his palace soundly beaten; a recreation emulated successively by the emperors Otho, Commodus, and Heliogabalus. But we can conceive ourselves studying the history of the Sforza or the ducal Medici, when we turn to the darker pages of Nero's annals;—when we see him in his closet with the hag Locusta, trying experiments upon poisons; when he enters the banqueting-hall, and in the midst of his court sees his victim Britannicus drink the potion, and fall on the floor in convulsions; when we watch the speechless horror of the spectators, and behold among them the unfortunate Octavia, the sister of the murdered man and the wife of the murderer; and

when, in the same night, amidst darkness, rain, and tempest, we follow the corpse to the Campus Martius, and see it thrust into its nameless grave.*

The general reputation of the imperial senate may be gathered from two sources; from the younger Pliny's contemptuous description of their monument on the Tiburtine road in honour of Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, with their act in honour of the same worthless favourite; and from the bitter but well-merited satire of Juvenal, in which he represents the Fathers of Rome as called together by Domitian to deliberate on the best way of dressing a turbot.† One other example, a simply told fact, will teach us how far official subserviency could carry the degradation of personal character. While Tiberius was on the throne, Titius Sabinus, an associate of the murdered Germanicus, was enticed by one of his own friends to enter his house, and there express his indignation against the tyrant. Three senators, hidden between the ceiling of the chamber and the roof of the mansion, were allowed to overhear the conversation; and, as soon as Titius had quitted the place, the four traitors concocted a memorial to the emperor, in which they set forth the seditious words they had heard spoken, and boastingly related the infamous meanness by which they had purchased their knowledge.‡

The populace we shall better understand when we come to examine the public amusements, for these were their sole occupation. If they received their allowance of food and had the circus and amphitheatres opened to them, they were contented and most loyal subjects: for these reasons they did not hate the bad emperors; on the contrary, they usually liked them better than the good ones. Most of those extravagant and profligate despots scattered their treasures freely among the mob, while their cruelty exhausted itself on the rich

* Taciti Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 15, 16, 17.

† Plinii lib. vii. epist. 29; lib. viii. epist. 4. Juvenalis Satira iv.

‡ Taciti Annal. lib. iv. cap. 69.

and noble. These the emperors might always destroy with impunity; but it was not so safe to attempt executing any member of their own household; it was still less safe to provoke the imperial guard; and, pampered and wretched as the Roman populace were, an attack on them would have been the most hazardous adventure of any. Nero, with his mad jollity, his shameless exhibitions of himself, and the unequalled splendour of his spectacles, was the idol of the rabble, who long hung garlands on his tomb upon the Pincian Mount; believing for many years that he was still alive, and would return to punish his enemies and restore the regretted days of license.*

In the year of grace 69, the troops of Vespasian stormed Rome, which was held by Vitellius. The two parties fought in three divisions; in the Gardens of Sallust, among the streets of the Campus Martius, and at the rampart of the Prætorian Barrack. At all these points the populace of the city swarmed out and looked on, cheering the combatants as they would have done in the amphitheatre; the wine-shops and other scenes of guilt stood open in the middle of the fight; the people resorted to them to spend the money which they plundered from the dying and the dead; and, when the battle was over, they hurried to the Aventine to see the capture of Vitellius, their late favourite, followed him while he was dragged, with his hands bound, across the Forum to the Gemonian Stairs, and shouted as they beheld the soldiers kill him.†

These were scenes too common to be punished as offences; but in Rome, and throughout Italy, there were outrages in abundance which the imperial police durst not overlook. As examples, we may select crimes which seem to have together formed a profession practised by numerous bands of miscreants; kidnapping, highway-robbery, and housebreaking. The first

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* Suetonius in Nerone, cap. 57. Taciti Histor. lib. ii. cap. 8.
† Taciti Historiar. lib. iii. cap. 72, 73, 74, 75.

of these offences is mentioned in the last ages of the republic as committed on travellers; it again occurs repeatedly under the emperors; Hadrian attempted to stop it by an ordinance for shutting up the private slave-prisons, in some of which the robbers contrived to conceal their captives; but the private dungeons and the crime lasted as long as the empire.* The victims appear to have been sometimes detained for years at hard labour; but the frequency of the outrage can scarcely be accounted for, unless we believe that the banditti held their prisoners to ransom, like the modern Italian robbers. One of the most noted haunts of the ancient highwaymen was the Pontine Marshes, which lay conveniently near the high-road from Naples to Rome; and another, not less infested, was the Gallinarian Wood, which stretched northward from Cumæ, and, by its situation, enabled the bandits to sally out on those persons of rank who spent the summer months on the coast of Campania. When the military police scoured those forests, and guarded their outlets, they produced by their vigilance another and worse evil; for the villains then fled to Rome, hid themselves amidst the labyrinth of the overgrown city (as modern thieves find themselves safest in Paris or London), and committed daring robberies by night on the persons and dwelling-houses of the citizens.†

We may drop, in the mean time, our inquiry into the morality and happiness of imperial Rome, after we have perused two sepulchral inscriptions, both of which are still preserved in the city.

The first was found in 1797, on the hills of Decima, north-east from Ostia.‡ It tells its own tale of heartless, thoughtless, and unblushing selfishness. "I who speak from this marble tomb was born at Tralles, in Asia. Often did I repair to Baiæ, to enjoy its tepid baths and wander

* Suetonius in Augusto, cap. 32, with the notes of Casaubon and Gruter. Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 8. Ælius Spartianus in Hadriano, cap. 18, with the notes of Salmasius.

† Juvenalis Satir. iii. v. 302-314.

‡ Westphal's Römische Kampagne, p. 6.

in its delightful neighbourhood by the sea. My heir, mindful of this my honourable life, and of my last request, employed a part of my wealth in erecting this receptacle for the bones of me and my descendants, this temple sacred to our shades. But thou who readest these lines, of thee I request only that thou wouldst breathe this prayer for me: 'May the earth lie lightly on thee, Socrates, son of Astomachus.'"

The second inscription is taken from a square marble cippus, which stands in the court of the Palace of the Conservators, in the Roman Capitol.* "The bones of Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, granddaughter of the divine Augustus, wife of Germanicus Cæsar, mother of the august prince Caius Cæsar Germanicus." The high-spirited and virtuous woman whose name this epitaph records, was a strange instance of the caprice of destiny. Her grandfather was the first emperor; her father was one of the most honest and enterprising public men of his time; her husband, a brave and generous soldier, was poisoned by his jealous uncle Tiberius; the same tyrant murdered her children, all except two, and banished herself to the Isle Pandataria, now Pantellaria, where, broken-hearted and solitary, she starved herself to death. Her two surviving children achieved an immortality of disgrace. The daughter bore her name, and became the licentious and wretched mother of Nero. The son, ascending the throne, erected this stone and other memorials to his mother's memory; but, under his nickname of Caligula, he is perhaps the most infamous of all the Roman princes.

Intellectual Cultivation.

The public schools, which have been already described as of very ancient date in Rome, continued to exist throughout the period of the empire. There were taught

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* The original Latin is in Gruter's Corpus Inscriptionum, tom. i. p. 237, No. 4.

in them, however, only reading and writing, with a little arithmetic. They were frequented by all the children of the higher ranks, except those of the few families that preferred an education strictly private, and it is likely that they were also attended by a few children from the lower orders. Of the actual amount of the information conveyed in them, or possessed by the people at large, it is impossible positively to judge; but it appears to be a fair inference from many scattered hints and facts, that reading at least was, in the later days of the republic and the earlier ages of the empire, no rare accomplishment. Many of the slaves, indeed, educated at home for the service of their owners, possessed much more than this. Columella, in enumerating the qualifications of a slave-bailiff on a country estate, is disposed to prefer an illiterate one, as being least able to cheat his master; but Varro insists on his bailiff being able to read, write, and keep the accounts of the establishment.* With these branches of knowledge, then, at the utmost, the instruction of the common people assuredly stopped, and for them literary study in any shape was altogether impracticable.

The children of the higher classes passed through several subsequent courses of learning, all of which, however, were not matured till the imperial times. First came a series of reading with a Grammarian, or one who gave lessons in the elements of literature. These men originally occupied themselves chiefly in teaching Greek, but afterwards that language and its writings were intrusted to one tutor, and the Latin tongue was given to another. Some rich individuals bought learned slaves, or hired free teachers, exclusively for their own families; and it was thus that Augustus engaged Verrius Flaccus to live in his house on the Palatine, devoting his whole time to Caius and Lucius, the emperor's nephews; but Orbilius, Horace's severe schoolmaster, was less fortu-

* Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. i. cap. 8. Varro De Re Rusticâ, lib. ii. cap. 10.

nate, and in one of his writings jested on his residence in a garret.* These teachers of grammar and literature were generally at first native Greeks, though sometimes Italiots or Sicilians. The Rhetoricians, or professors of oratory, who appeared an age later than the grammarians, and were at first treated with alternate suspicion and ridicule, were also foreigners, and continued longer than the others to be selected from that class. Those Greeks who attempted to introduce their philosophy at Rome, met with yet stronger opposition, not being able to establish themselves permanently till towards the last age of the republic.† Nevertheless, from the time of Augustus rhetoric and philosophy were among the most promising paths to honour and wealth; and amidst many pretenders to illumination and much false science, there was knowledge sufficient to make the class highly respectable. Among the teachers of rhetoric it may be enough to mention Quinctilian; although, if we are to include Greeks who taught in the metropolis, we shall be entitled to add Hermogenes in Hadrian's reign, with many others of less note afterwards.

No instructor of any kind received public endowment till the time of Vespasian. That emperor conferred salaries on a few Greeks and Italians, who gave instructions in literature and eloquence. Soon after his reign it became not uncommon for municipal corporations to settle allowances on public tutors; and the younger Pliny, writing to Tacitus, describes a school he had been able to establish in his native town of Como, by promising for its support one-third in addition to whatever sum the inhabitants should raise among themselves. Hadrian and other emperors extended the scheme of endowment; and Antoninus Pius introduced every where into the principal towns, both in Italy and the provinces, seminaries where all the higher branches of education were taught

* Suetonius De Illustribus Grammaticis, cap. 9, 17. Horatii lib. ii. epist. i. v. 70.

† Plauti Curcul. act. ii. sc. 2. Capteiv. act. ii. sc. 2.

by salaried professors.* His successor founded a splendid philosophical academy at Athens; and that establishment, the medical school of Alexandria, and the literary academies at Autun and other places in Gaul, were the most celebrated of the time. Rome continued to maintain its place as the great school of law; but its teachers were still the practising jurisconsults, who, holding no open prelections, merely admitted pupils to their consultations and studies at home. Attendance on these lawyers and in the courts, with travels in Greece, were considered, from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius, as completing the education of a young man of senatorial birth. Mathematics and natural science were almost universally neglected, and no teacher of these branches ever received a public salary.

While the rich accumulated considerable libraries, of which Cicero's is one of the earliest examples, the poorer men of letters had access to public collections in Rome, said to have at length amounted to twenty-nine.† The oldest of the latter class was the celebrated one which belonged to Aristion, the prince of Athens, captured by Sylla, and placed by him in the Capitol; the next was that of Lucullus, in his beautiful gardens on the Pincian Mount, overlooking the Campus Martius, where its hall became the favourite resort of the Greek scholars; and in the Augustan age was founded the library of Asinius Pollio, which he formally presented to the Roman people. But these, as well as the later establishment which Vespasian attached to his Temple of Peace, and those less choice collections which were usually placed in the public Thermæ, were eclipsed by the two magnificent foundations of Augustus and Trajan. The former consisted of two departments,—a Greek and a Latin,—and was arranged in halls annexed to the Temple of Apollo,

* Suetonius in Vespasiano, cap. 18. Plinii lib. iv. ep. 13. Capitolinus in Antonino, cap. 11.

† Publius Victor, De Regionibus Urbis: ap. Grævium, tom. iii. p. 49.

which again was connected with the emperor's mansion on the Palatine. The second, the Ulpian Library, was deposited in the Temple of Trajan in his forum, from which, however, Diocletian removed it to adorn his baths. Its halls became, after the Tabularium, the chief receptacle of the national records and archives.

Under the republic, books could be procured only by purchase from abroad or by employing private copyists; but bookshops, appearing for the first time in the reign of Augustus, soon became common in the city, and in a century and a half were to be found, though certainly not numerous, in several provincial towns.* The younger Pliny mentions the public sale of his works at Lyons, and Gellius relates, with all the delight of a modern biblio-maniac, his discovery of some rare Greek manuscripts on a stall at Brundusium.† We read of a book-shop at Rome, in the Argiletum, near the Julian forum; of one beside the Temple of Peace; of several in the Sigillaria; and of another unknown street, the Vicus Sandaliarius, which was full of them. Some of the metropolitan booksellers, like Quinctilian's publisher Tryphon, kept copyists and illuminators in constant employment; and they covered the columns or posts of their doors with the titles of the volumes they had for sale.‡ In the Augustan age, and much later, authors did not usually derive any direct profit from their works; and poor poets, a class in which the epigrammatist Martial is a curious example, made dedications and flattery a regular and degrading trade. The earliest notice of literary property which we discover in Italy is contained in a comedy of Plautus, one of whose buffoons proposes to bequeath his jest-book as a portion to his daughter. But in the last age of the republic the grammarian Pompilius Androni-

* See Schöttgen De Librariis et Bibliopolis: in Thesauro Poleni, tom. iii.

† Plinii lib. ix. epist. 11. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. ix. cap. 4.

‡ Martialis lib. i. epig. 2, 4, 118. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. v. cap. 4. Galenus De Libris Propriis, in Proœm. Horatius De Arte Poeticâ, v. 372; lib. i. satir. iv. v. 72. Quinctiliani Institut. Orator., Præfat. ad Tryphonem.

cus contrived to save himself from starving by disposing of a manuscript; and such sales became more common after the time of the elder Pliny, who was offered in Spain a large sum for his encyclopædia.*

The Romans, though we are apt to overlook the fact, had registers of politics and intelligence, which were really not unlike our own newspapers in their contents, but immeasurably inferior in the mode of circulation.†

The journals of the Senate and National Conventions long contained little more than entries resembling those in our collected acts of parliament. These furnished most of the materials from which, till 625, the pontiffs compiled their annals; and there is also proof that, after the republic had extended its dominions, those official journals were regularly copied and transmitted to public men living at a distance.‡ But these sources were not enough. Every man abroad had his correspondents in Rome; and when the task of collecting news became more difficult, several persons assumed newsmonging as a trade, taking in shorthand notes of the proceedings at public meetings, and selling copies of them, as well as of the common gossip of the day, and the official journals. Julius Cæsar, in 694, established a regular system for recording the deliberations, both of the senate and the conventions, in a form much like our reports of parliamentary debates; and he allowed these accounts to be copied and freely circulated. Although Augustus stopped the publication of the reports,§ the restraint was soon afterwards withdrawn; and ever after their introduction by Julius, these and all other archives of the

* Plautus in Persâ, act. iii. scen. 2. v. 60-68. Suetonius De Illustribus Grammaticis, cap. 8. Plinii lib. iii. epist. 5.

† Consult Dodwell, Prælectiones Camdenianæ (Oxon. 1692): Prælect. xi. et Appendicis Præfat.—Eschenbach De Scribis Veterum, ap. Polenum, tom. iii.—Ersch und Gruber, Encyclopädie, ad vocem "Acta."—Zell in the Morgenblatt, June 1835.

‡ Cicero De Oratore, lib. ii. cap. 2; Ad Familiares, lib. i. epist. 2. (A. U. 697). See also Cicero's Letters cited afterwards.

§ Suetonius in Julio, cap. 20; in Augusto, cap. 36.

state were so unreservedly open to the public, and their contents were diffused in so many shapes, that we are often uncertain whether the sources to which the Roman authors refer are these official reports, or the notes of professional shorthand writers, or, finally, those collections of common news that were handed about with the other pieces of information.

But we are less curious to disentangle this confusion, than to learn some of the subjects which were discussed in the news-journals. The accounts of the political debates embraced the acts and resolutions, the rescripts of the emperors, the reports of magistrates or committees, the names of the voters (like that of Thrasea Pætus, whose silent dissent was watched with such eagerness by the provincials), the speeches, their reception, and the squabbles of the debaters.* Stray articles of law-intelligence seem to have found their way into these collections.† There were likewise occasional notices extracted from the local registers of births, and announcements of marriages, divorces, deaths, and funerals,‡ as also descriptions of new public buildings, shows of gladiators, and such ordinary themes.§ Julius Cæsar, who read the news-sheets every morning, gave strict orders that Cicero's witty sayings should be regularly added to the other current matter.|| The journals, too, like our own, were the receptacles for all tragical and marvellous occurrences, and Pliny derived from them many of the odd stories inserted in his encyclopædia, among which the following may be cited. The gazettes related that

* Cicero Ad Atticum, lib. vi. epist. 2; Ad Familiares, lib. ii. ep. 15, lib. xii. ep. 23; Philippica Prima, cap. 3. Taciti Annal. lib. xv. cap. 74; lib. xvi. cap. 22. De Claris Oratoribus, cap. 37. Plinii lib. v. epist. 14; lib. vii. ep. 33; lib. viii. ep. 6.

† Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. ii. ep. 8 (A. U. 702). Taciti Annal. lib. vi. cap. 47.

‡ Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 5; in Caligulâ, cap. 8. Juvenalis Satir. i. v. 136. Seneca De Beneficiis, lib. vii. cap. 16. Taciti Annal. lib. iii. cap. 3.

§ Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. ii. ep. 8; lib. viii. ep. 1, 2. Taciti Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 31.

|| Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. ix. ep. 16.

on the day when Cicero defended Milo there fell a shower of bricks; that under Augustus a burgher of Fæsulæ walked to the Capitol in a procession formed by his own sixty-three descendants; that when a slave of the unfortunate Titius Sabinus had been executed by Tiberius, his dog watched the corpse, carried food to its mouth, and, on its being thrown into the Tiber, swam after it, and strove to bring it to land; and that in the reign of Claudius a phœnix from Egypt was publicly exhibited in Rome; which last story, however, Pliny truly pronounces to be a manifest invention.*

As the contents of the gazettes became more objectionable, their popularity increased in due proportion, and was especially high among the females of rank, many of whom acquired a taste for this sort of amusement, while some even maintained readers or secretaries, of the other sex as well as their own.† It was the fashion of the emperors publicly to keep diaries of their personal history; and Augustus, the earliest of the imperial autobiographers, went so far as to attempt imposing some laws of decency on the women of his household, by ordering an officer of the palace to write a regular journal of their transactions. The noble Romans imitated the example of their masters, and the pompous folly which distinguished many of those patrician memoirs is wittily exposed by a debauched but most observant contemporary of Nero.‡ The monarch's character and that of his satellites being matters of paramount importance, the professed news-writers greedily gleaned on this head all they could, as well from the journals as from the communications of the slaves in

* Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 56; lib. vii. cap. 13; lib. viii. cap. 40; lib. x. cap. 2.

† Juvenalis Satir. vii. v. 104; Satir. vi. v. 480. Pignorius De Servis, ap. Polenum, tom. iii. p. 1203. Gorius De Libertorum Liviæ Columbario, Inscript. No. 100.

‡ Suetonius in Augusto, cap. 64, 85; in Tiberio, cap. 61; in Claudio, cap. 41. Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores: in Hadriano, cap. 16; in Commodo, cap. 15; in Septimio Severo, cap. 3. Petronius Arbiter in Satyrico.

the imperial and noble families. The newspapers, the pasquinades which we see to have been common from Julius downwards, and the graver annals, became more and more like each other, till all were completely amalgamated in the scandalous collection entitled the Augustan Histories.

Classes of Society.

It has been already necessary to mention, as a fact in the political history of the empire, the early disappearance of a middle class in society. The relations of the lowest order to the highest are best explained by examining the position of the slaves and freedmen, with the nature of the public spectacles; and to the facts which will thus gradually evolve themselves, it needs only to be added, that haughtiness and distance towards dependents speedily rose to a height at once foolish and most deeply perilous. We conceive Mæcenas himself to have been a very aristocratic personage from the tardy condescension with which he requited Horace's humble devoirs; and, if there is a little spleen in Juvenal's description of the treatment which the rich gave to their poorer associates, that other picture is unexaggerated and good-humoured which Pliny draws of the table of a rich acquaintance, where we behold a ceremonial corresponding to that old one of the seat below the salt in our own country.* But if the indigent citizens in the imperial times were numerous and the rich few, the slaves composed a multitude amidst which the whole free population was a mere handful.

From the seventh century of the city the market-places in Rome were, on the days of sale, not at all unlike what an eastern slave-bazaar is at present. The slave-merchants, a class notorious for dishonesty, and strictly watched by the police, kept their victims in large

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* Horatii lib. i. Satir. vi. v. 52-65. Juvenalis Satir. v. Plinii lib. ii. epist. 6.

warehouses, whence they were brought out in crowds, and exhibited in barred cages, with descriptive labels hung round their necks. * If a slave had been recently made captive, a circumstance which greatly increased his price, he had his feet chalked; if he was not warranted sound, a cap was put upon his head; and, if a customer desired it, he was made to come out of his den and show his paces on the pavement of the porticos.* There were three regular sources from which Italy was supplied with these unfortunate beings. The first was opened by the frequent wars of the republic and empire, from all of which were derived large numbers of prisoners. * There was, secondly, an established slave-trade, which had its principal marts in the islands of Greece, on the coast of Syria, and in Egypt, receiving its supplies partly from the incessant wars of the Asiatics, and partly from kidnapping and piracy. There were, thirdly, the slaves already imported, whose descendants were retained in the families of their proprietors.

If the bondmen were brought from a distance, their birthplace had great influence in fixing their reputation, their price, and the nature of their work.† The natives of Asia Minor were the usual attendants on feasts and the wretched ministers of their masters' debauchery; the Alexandrian Greeks were thought to make the best buffoons; the Greeks of the continent were most frequently employed as teachers, artists, or artisans; the errand-porters, litter-carriers, and other labourers, were selected from all nations, but oftenest from the northern regions both of Asia and Europe; the Dacians, Getæ, and other Germanic tribes, were the favourite gladiators; and the barbarians of Britain, whom the Italians were pleased to think a tall and handsome race, commonly figured as assistants and supernumeraries in the theatres.‡ The

* Propertii lib. iv. eleg. 5. v. 51. Juvenalis Satir. i. v. 111. Persii Satir. vi. v. 77. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. 17, 18. Gellii Noct. Attic. lib. vii. cap. 4.

† Pignorius De Servis, ap. Polenum, tom. iii. p. 1138-1308.

‡ Virgilii Georgic. lib. iii. v. 25, with the note of Servius.

mountaineers from the half-conquered islands of Corsica and Sardinia were considered the fiercest and most useless of all menials: indeed they very frequently destroyed themselves; and the natives of the latter were contemptuously characterized in a current proverb.*

The Romans left to slaves, or at least to those who had once been such, several of the employments which modern nations regard as liberal and honourable. The medical profession, in all its branches, was almost exclusively in the hands of these persons, even as late as the Christian ages of the empire;† and they were also the common secretaries, librarians, shorthand writers, and copyists of manuscripts. Grecian captives, and afterwards slaves born in the house and educated for the purpose, tended the Roman children, and were their earliest teachers; and it was no rare thing to find among those "Pædagogi" men of learning and talent, who in time opened public schools of literature or oratory. Slaves also discharged the office of Nomenclators, waiting on their master in public places, or when he gave audiences at home, and whispering in his ear the names of those who approached him. Under the republic, when every man aimed at being popular, and none could possibly recollect all the inhabitants of the overgrown city, such officers were not merely important but quite indispensable; and though the use of them afterwards declined, they are mentioned by both the Plinys as being still kept by private persons of rank, and the emperors and public functionaries retained them much later. But they at last acted as seneschals or masters of the ceremonies.‡ The superintendent of the household slaves was styled the Atriensis or hallkeeper; and the duties and swaggering airs of such a servile dignitary are whimsically caricatured in one of the old comedies.§

* "Sards to sell, each one worse than his neighbour."—Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. vii. ep. 24.

† Cod. Just. lib. vii. tit. 7, leg. 1.

‡ Senecæ Epist. xxix. Ammiani Marcellini Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 6.

§ Plauti Asinariæ act. ii. scen. 2, scen. 4.

The Ostiarius or doorkeeper had his station in the vestibule beside the watchdog; and the man, like the beast, was usually chained to his niche in the wall. Such a post is said to have been once filled by Pilitus, who afterwards taught oratory to Pompey the Great.* The slaves who attended the grandees in their public appearances made up a legion of charioteers, muleteers, litter-bearers, carriers of fans and umbrellas, mounted couriers and running footmen, among whom were many negroes. In the palaces, besides the numerous divisions which, classed like the cohorts of the army, laboured or loitered in the kitchens, the halls, the eating-rooms, the baths, the picture-galleries, and the gardens,—there were, even under the republic, dwarfs and domestic jesters. Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, had two favourite dwarfs, one of each sex; Seneca describes his wife's female fool; and most Roman writers mention male buffoons, among whom Sarmentus, the pet of Julius and Augustus, was the most famous.† Unfortunately eunuchs were equally common from the times of Juvenal till those of Constantine; and the trade in these unhappy beings, after it had died away in the western half of the empire, was allowed under limitations by the laws of the east.

But besides those slaves who, in these various ways and in many others, acted mainly as ministers of luxury and pomp, a numerous class of them were so educated as to yield a direct profit to their masters. Most landholders opened shops in their palaces, or in other places of the city, where a slave sold the produce of their estates, just as the Tuscan gentleman of the present day disposes of his wine and oil at a wicket in the wall of his house in Florence. Many others caused their slaves, both male

* Ovidii Amorum lib. i. eleg. 6. Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. i. cap. 2. Suetonius De Claris Rhetoribus, cap. 3.

† Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 16. Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 61. Lampridius in Alexandro Severo, cap. 61. Senecæ Philosophi Epist. 50. Horat. lib. i. Satir. v. v. 51, *et seq.* Juvenalis Satir. v. v. 4.

and female, to be trained as artisans or manufacturers, and sold the fruit of their labours in public warehouses. Indeed, throughout the whole of the period, there was probably very little manufacture in Italy save what was conducted in this manner. Yet another branch of the trade, and one which many proud nobles were not too proud to practise, was the training and hiring out of bands of those performers whom we are immediately to see employed in the public spectacles.

If we ask what was the treatment of the Roman bondmen, we shall be best informed by a visit to an ancient villa. It always contained as one of its most necessary buildings an Ergastulum, which was a workhouse or prison for the "Vincti" or slaves under punishment. This dungeon, partly excavated under ground, was lighted by narrow loopholes placed high in the wall; but the builder was directed to make it as healthy as might be. It was the nightly retreat of refractory wretches, who during the day were condemned to the severest labour, such as digging in sand-pits or cutting in mines and quarries, where their work was quickened by the lash.* They were clothed in a peculiar dress, their legs were put in heavy fetters, their heads were half-shaved, and, when their offence was heinous, they were often branded on the forehead with a redhot iron.† The capital punishment which the magistrates usually inflicted on criminals of this class was crucifixion; and another, which arose during the last two centuries of the republic, was the compelling of the convict to fight in the amphitheatre with beasts or with other men. Runaways were very usually condemned to the arena; but Constantine, professing to mitigate the law, enacted that the fugitive should only be sent to the mines or have his foot cut off. For centuries, however, the master had the uncontrolled power of life and death over his slaves, whom Hadrian

* Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. i. cap. 6. Plauti Capteivorum act. iii. sc. 5; act. v. sc. 4.

† De Burigny, sur les Esclaves Romains, Mémoires de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tom. xxxv., 1770.

first subjected in capital cases to the jurisdiction of the imperial judges alone, though subsequent laws reserved to the proprietor full right to punish by the scourge and imprisonment. Antoninus imposed on every owner who killed his slave a civil fine, as if the murdered man had belonged to another person; and Constantine made it homicide to put any one of this class to death whilst inflicting corporal chastisement on him.*

When the slaves were abused beyond endurance, they had only one refuge, the altars of the heathen temples, to which in later times succeeded those of the Christian churches. The former kind of sanctuaries was often violated, the latter much more seldom. It may be granted that the conduct of those bondmen frequently made extreme severities necessary, for their degraded state ruined their moral character; and, by a judicial retribution which has followed slavery wherever it has been permitted, their vices infected every department of society. It is indeed cheering to remark cases, in which mild treatment by the owner was recompensed by heroic devotion in the object of his kindness: the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, and that of the second triumvirate, furnish noble instances of such conduct; the same spirit was often displayed in the massacres of the Cæsars; and the benevolence of a good master in more peaceful times is pleasingly exemplified by the behaviour of the younger Pliny.† But the general rule was based on harshness and even cruelty; and one other illustration will complete the description. A law of very ancient date enacted that, if a citizen were murdered in his house, all the slaves who were under the roof at the time should be executed without exception. The statute was horribly enforced in the story now to be related; and the comments on it which abound in the

* Spartianus in Hadriano, cap. 18. Dig. lib. i. tit. 6., De his qui sui. Cod lib. ix. tit. 14.

† Valerii Maximi lib. vi. cap. 8. Appianus de Bello Civili, lib. iv. Macrobii Saturnalium lib. i. cap. 11. Plinii lib. iii. epist. 19; lib. viii. epist. 16.

Roman law-books had no other tendency, than that of making its provisions more refinedly savage.* About the middle of Nero's reign, Pedanius Secundus, the prefect of the city, was assassinated by one of his household, an accomplice in his profligacy. The rest of his slaves, four hundred in number, men, women, and children, were instantly hurried to prison; the mob, seized with an unusual compassion, tried to rescue them; the senate met to suppress the sedition; and the speech by which the senator Cassius urged the enforcement of the law is at once frightful and instructive. His argument is this: that the slaves constituted in the heart of Italy a foreign and hostile population, overwhelming in numbers if compared with their masters; that this domestic enemy could be kept down by no means but mortal terror; and that it was right a few should die for the whole people. A majority voted for acting on the law; the populace threw stones at the senate-house, and threatened to burn it; the soldiers were ordered out, drove back the crowd, and lined the street; and between their ranks the four hundred innocent victims were dragged to execution.

The feeling of the slaves themselves is indicated by their frequent insurrections, which also show their overpowering multitude. In the seventh century of Rome there were three of these revolts, none of which was suppressed till the insurgents had repeatedly routed the armies of the commonwealth. The first of these Servile Wars, which broke out in Sicily in 615, was not put down for six years: Eunus, the Syrian bondman who headed it, was said at one time to command nearly two hundred thousand men, and possessed half of the Sicilian towns, together with the most fertile districts of the island. The second war of this sort, raised in the same country, lasted from 649 till 652, and the revolters, led by a Cilician household-slave and a Greek diviner, numbered in one

* Taciti Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 42-45. Dig. lib. xxix. tit. 5, De Senatusconsulto Silaniano.

campaign forty thousand men. But the most dangerous of all the insurrections was the third, which was kept alive in Italy during the years 680 and 681 by the brave Thracian Spartacus, a fugitive gladiator from the school of Capua. This captain, collecting at least a hundred thousand men, ravaged the peninsula from Rhegium to the Po, and defeated several consular armies.

Even in those ages some private persons possessed extraordinary numbers of dependents belonging to this class, and such wealth became yet more common under the emperors. Augustus, in a dearth, gave freedom to twenty thousand slaves of his own, and manned the corn-ships with them; and an obscure person who died in his reign lamented in his testament the disturbances of the civil wars, which had reduced the number of his slaves to four thousand.*

Notwithstanding all their miseries this most unjustly treated portion of the Italian people possessed one powerful consolation,—the prospect of becoming Roman citizens by manumission, which was either granted for favour or bought by the slave from his savings. When the master was a man of character and generosity, this hope could be made a strong incentive to good conduct, and there are instances of freedom worthily bestowed and gratefully requited. But it often happened that emancipation, if it was not the wages of vice, gave at least occasion to rapacity and insolence. The list of affluent and haughty freedmen, beginning with Pompey's slave Demetrius, includes a host of other unprincipled persons, who, themselves debased by servitude, revenged their own wrongs on their new dependents. When the Emperor Claudius once complained that his exchequer was empty, he was sarcastically told that he might retrieve his fortune if his two freed slaves, Narcissus the secretary, and Pallas the treasurer, would receive him into partnership. The latter of these worthies, after his patron's

* Seneca De Tranquillitate Animi, cap. 8. Suetonius in Augusto, cap. 16. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 10.

death, was accused of having communicated to some of his domestics a plot against Nero. The upstart answered with scorn that the fact was impossible,—that he never condescended to speak to any one in his service, but gave his ordinary commands by signs, and wrote down those directions which required explanation.* Narcissus we shall soon encounter again.

Amusements.

From whatever point of view we regard the amusements of ancient Rome, one fact is both the most striking and the most important. Intellectual recreation, after repeated attempts to find a place, was overpowered by gaudy spectacles, nourishing the fiercest and foulest passions. The diversions of the imperial times may be divided into two classes. There were, first, those which were common to all ranks of the people, and injurious to the morality of all, but most active in their operation on the populace. They consisted of the recreations furnished in the thermæ, and the scenic exhibitions given in the theatre, the amphitheatre, and the circus. There were, secondly, those divertisements that were confined to the imperial court, or at farthest did not extend beyond the palaces of the nobles. These were infinitely varied; but their character may be understood by a glance at those forms of them which were most nearly literary or theatrical. The amusements common to the whole population must be first noticed.

The early state of the Roman Theatre is matter of curious research, both from its own peculiarities, and because we can plausibly trace in it the original of the improvised comedy in modern Italy. We know, it is true, disappointingly little as to the extemporary Saturnian verses, the indigenous Latin Satires, the Atellan Fables, the Fescennine Songs, or those Mimes which

* Suetonius in Claudio, cap. 28. Taciti Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 23.

supplanted all the older scenic pieces, and, as we are told, united the best qualities of each. But all these, we may safely assert, were chiefly nothing more than extemporaneous exhibitions of the old Italian fluency and humour. All of them disappeared very early from the stage of Rome; an attempt was made to supply their place by the Greek tragedies and comedies, translated and altered; and in the Augustan age both the native and the foreign dramas gave way to the Pantomime, which was a ballet of action, voluptuous and vicious, but, from all that can be learned of it, performed with uncommon skill and significance. It may be believed, however, on strong grounds of likelihood, that throughout the whole period of the empire, the mimes or Atellan farces, with their masked and unchangeable characters, their old costumes, and their unpremeditated ribaldry, lingered in their native Campania and among the villages of other rural districts; and that, as the modern Italian Zanni receives his name from the ancient Sannio, so the Neapolitan Pulcinella is, in a direct and uninterrupted line, the descendant and representative of the Oscan Maccus, whose costume is still to be seen in the paintings of Pompeii.* But in Rome, as early as the Mithridatic triumph of Pompey, we see that to the other degradations of the theatre had been added, in their coarsest and most sensual form, the glare of decoration and variety of spectacle which belonged to the circus and the amphitheatre;† and if Cicero was disgusted then,

* There's many a part of Italy, 'tis said,
Where none assume the toga, but the dead.
There, when the toil foregone and annual play
Mark from the rest some high and festal day,
To theatres of turf the rustics throng,
Charm'd with the farce which charm'd their sires so long;
While the pale infant, of the mask in dread,
Hides in his mother's breast his little head.

Gifford's Juvenal, Sat. iii. v. 251-258 (original, v. 171-176) Bullenger De Theatro, cap. 44, ap. Grævium, tom. ix. Quadrio Storia d'ogni Poesia, tom. v. p. 212-220.

† Cicero Ad Familiares, lib. vii. epist. 1 (A.U. 269).

other men of refinement must much more readily have been so afterwards. Indeed all the men of genius despairingly left the drama to its fate; and poets or patrons like Nero were unlikely to reform it either in taste or morality. The actors, although infamous by law, amassed fortunes and were loaded with imperial favour and popular applause; for the inscription quoted below is only one of many cases in which public honours were prostituted to vicious slaves.* But the tragic gesture of Bathyllus or Paris, and the lascivious dances of Greek youths and Spanish girls, became at length wearisome to the pampered Romans; and before the empire had endured three centuries, the populace deserted the theatres for the booths of the forum, and even brought on the stage troops of fire-workers and mountebanks. Before the days of Constantine, elephants, we are assured, walked on the tight-rope; learned dogs told fortunes; vaulters exhibited feats of strength, and threw innumerable somersets; satyrs danced on stilts; and conjurers swallowed swords, tossed and caught daggers, and played at thimble and ball.

The usual spectacles of the circus and amphitheatre were of four kinds:—Chariot-races; Combats of Gladiators; Venationes, wherein wild beasts fought with men or with each other; and Naumachiæ, in which, on the arena of the circus or amphitheatre temporarily flooded, or in a permanent lake dug and fenced for the purpose, small galleys engaged in races or imitations of sea-fights.

The chariot-races were the oldest of the games; and the circuses, originally constructed for them, seldom witnessed any of the other sports after permanent amphi-

* "The Municipal Senate and Burgesses of Lanuvium attest, that, by an act of the corporation, the freedom of their city has been conferred on Acilius Septemtrio, Freedman of Marcus Aurelius Augustus, the First Pantomimist of his Age, Priest of the Synod of Apollo, Imperial Client of Faustina, Introduced to the Stage by the Fortunate and August Emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius."—Bullenger De Theatro, p. 943.

theatres had been built. The emperors allowed these exhibitions to act as a safety-valve for the fiery passions of the multitude. The charioteers were divided into four Companies or Factions,—the Green, Blue, Red, and White. Their stables, near the Flaminian Circus in the Campus Martius, were a favourite haunt of the people and of many nobles, as well as of some emperors; and the mob, splitting into parties which favoured each a particular colour (the green and blue being the favourites), fought out their quarrel even to bloodshed. The charioteers were slaves, or at best freedmen; but as early as the reign of Alexander Severus, it was found prudent to explain authoritatively, as not extending to them, the law which made actors and other ministers of the public pleasures infamous.*

The gladiators were kept in large buildings, usually called Ludior schools. The Æmilian School was very near the Forum; the Mamertine was beside the old prison; the Great School and the Dacian (named from the people which furnished its usual inmates) were in the quarter of the Baths of Titus; and the Gallic and Matutinal were on the Cælian Mount.† Each gladiator was lodged in a separate cell like the ordinary slaves, and every school had its arena and apparatus for exercise, its surgeon, and numerous attendants. Its Lanista or superintendent, usually a veteran gladiator himself, was in some cases the servant of the emperor or of a rich noble, but was more frequently the proprietor of the establishment, making his profits by letting out his men for the public games or for the entertainment of private parties. He recruited his band in various ways. He either purchased young slaves (usually refractory ones), prisoners of war recently taken, and exposed children, or he received from the magistrates condemned

* Dig. lib. iii. tit. 2., De his qui infamiâ notantur.

† Lipsii Saturnalium Sermonum lib. i. cap. 14; ap. Græyium, tom. ix. Panvinius et Pancirollus De Urbe Româ; ap. Græyium, tom. iii. pp. 285, 298, 333.

criminals; but in the worst times of the empire many profligate persons voluntarily sold themselves to those dealers in blood. The unhappy captives looked on the arena with the utmost horror, and, careless as the Romans were about their fate, writers have preserved some painful stories which prove the vehemence of their despair.*

The gladiatorial combats were for some time confined to funerals, and were first introduced into Rome from Etruria in 490, when Marcus and Decius Brutus made three pairs of swordsmen fight, at their father's interment, in the Forum Boarium. In Cicero's time Milo and Clodius each kept his troop; and the two bands, defying the power of the magistrates, fought daily in the streets of Rome. Julius Cæsar in his ædileship is said to have produced 640 combatants; and several of the emperors exhibited them in thousands. Wild beasts were first brought into the Roman circus in 502, the elephants taken from the Carthaginians being the animals then introduced. Lions and panthers soon succeeded; bears were also produced in the republican era, and tigers for the first time in the reign of Augustus.† The human victim, usually allowed weapons to sell his life dear, was sometimes thrust amongst the famished beasts unarmed, or even tied to a stake.

All those huge tanks which the emperors excavated for naumachiæ in and near Rome have disappeared; but, in pomp as well as in atrocity, every spectacle of this sort was eclipsed by one which Claudius exhibited in the 52d year of the Christian era, on a natural stage, the picturesque Fucine Lake, surrounded by the snowy peaks of the Abruzzo. On the mountain-sides, as on the steps of a colossal theatre, were thronged multitudes of country-people, burghers from the neighbouring towns, visiters from Rome (including the elder Pliny), and the swarm of satellites which composed the imperial court. Nineteen

* Seneca, epist. 70. Taciti Annal. lib. xv. cap. 46. Zosimi Historiarum lib. i. cap. 71. Symmachi lib. ii. epist. 46.

† Bullenger De Venatione Circi; ap. Grævium, tom. ix.

thousand slaves and criminals manned two fleets of galleys of fifty sail each; the nondescript emperor, half a learned man and half an idiot, sat with his infamous wife Agrippina, his stepson Nero, and his minion Narcissus, near the bank of the lake, at the mouth of the vast tunnel already described, which was that day to be opened. The combatants were marched along the shore by their guards the Prætorian cohorts; and, as they passed the imperial gallery, the whole army of wretches caught up and repeated the shout of some one amongst them, "Hail, emperor! dying men salute thee!" The blundering dotard answered the greeting ambiguously; the unhappy convicts, imagining that he had pronounced their pardon, broke out into tumult and exultation; and the provoked Claudius himself, going down to the water's edge, had to assure the victims that they had mistaken his meaning, and to make his troops goad them on board. The guards, posted thickly on scaffoldings round the place of battle, prevented escape; the disappointed prisoners slaughtered each other valiantly; and when the royal party was sick of blood the fight was stopped. But after the canal was opened, the levels were found to be wrong, and the water, undermining the bank on which the court sat, drove them away in consternation. Agrippina reproached Narcissus with greed and incapacity; the spoilt slave retorted by charging her with presumptuous meddling, and with plotting to make her son emperor; the weak Claudius in vain strove to reconcile his two domestic rulers; and the first act of the empress, when Nero ascended the throne, was to revenge herself for the affront of that morning by starving the favourite to death in prison.*

These various spectacles, each in its own way demoralizing, were a passion with the Romans, which their rulers, afraid lest their minds should turn to more dangerous thoughts, anxiously encouraged. We can scarcely trace

* Taciti Annal. lib. xii. cap. 56, 57; lib. xiii. cap. 1. Suetonius in Claudio, cap. 21. Dionis Cassii Historiarum lib. lx. cap. 33. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.

any attempt by an emperor to check this popular fondness. When Marcus Aurelius once ventured to enrol a large number of gladiators in the army, the measure had almost excited an insurrection; and we see the prince immediately obliged to atone for his imprudence by renewed liberality to the public shows.* In Rome the games were exhibited on innumerable pretexts, of religious festivals, imperial births, marriages, triumphs, and funerals, or (with permission) remarkable occurrences in the person or family of wealthy nobles. But scarcely any considerable town in Italy wanted its theatre or amphitheatre, and many possessed both, in which the rich burghers treated the populace with shows of gladiators, athletes, or wild beasts. When the place had no theatre a temporary scaffold served the purpose. The persons who gave the entertainments advertised them beforehand, by distributing written bills, and chalking up inscriptions in the streets, which intimated the day of the proposed exhibition, its nature and duration, and the conveniences which would be furnished, such as awnings and perfumes; and similar bills, naming the gladiators and other performers, were circulated among the spectators while the sports were proceeding. The Court of the Baths at Pompeii still contains one of the public announcements. The attention of the public was yet more anxiously courted, by paintings on canvass stretched out on frames like those of our booths at fairs, and set up in porticos or at the corners of streets; and for these there were occasionally substituted rude drawings in chalk or coal, representing the same subjects, fights of swordsmen, or the like.† The spectators were admitted on presenting tablets of bone or other materials previously distributed among them, on which was engraved a notice of the nature of the exhibition, and of

* Capitolinus in Marco Antonino Philosopho, cap. 21, 23.

† Lipsii Saturnalium lib. ii. cap. 18. Ciceronis Philippica Secunda, cap. 38. Ovidius De Arte Amandi, lib. i. v. 23. Plinii Hist. Nat lib. xxxv. cap. 7. Horatii lib. ii. Satir. vii. v. 96. Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Pompeii, vol. i. p. 148.

the day on which it was to take place. The inscription which is copied below is taken from a small bone ticket of this sort, and announces for the 4th of March in the year of the city 673, the appearance of a favourite Etruscan gladiator.* Pompeii, in its own ruins, and in the pages of Tacitus, curiously illustrates the importance which the people attached to their spectacles. A coarse schoolboy group of figures, scratched on a wall in the street of the Mercuries, is explained by an inscription in an almost illegible hand and in bad Latin, as referring to a story told by the historian.† About three years before the first earthquake which shook Pompeii, a quarrel took place, at an exhibition of gladiators there, between the townsmen and some visiters from the neighbouring Nuceria. Several of the strangers were killed, and their municipality complained to Nero and his senate, who found the Pompeians in the wrong, and gravely punished them by depriving their city of all public spectacles for ten years. These bloody dissensions of the circus had likewise their comic side. The newspapers related that, at the funeral of a favourite charioteer of the Red Faction, one of his partisans, in despair, threw himself into the pile, and was consumed; but the other factions, jealous of so triumphant a testimony to the merit of the deceased, spread a malicious report that the man, having been made giddy by the perfumes, had fallen into the flames by accident.‡

When we turn to those recreations that consumed the time of the rich and noble in the empire, we find the common spectacles of the theatres and circus as eagerly attended by them as by the poor. But there still remained a taste for literature, which, never extinct,

* BÀTO-ATTALENI. SP*ectatus* A*nte* D*iem* IV NO*nas* MAR*tias* L*ucio* SVL*la* Q*uinto* MET*ello* C*onsulibus*. Catalogue du Musée Dodwell, Rome, 1837. The Roman capitals alone are on the tablet: the Italic letters are those which we have to supply in order to complete the sense.

† Taciti Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 17.

‡ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 53.

acquired great power during some reigns, and these not always the best. The gazettes already described, the constant pasquinades, and the scandalous memoirs which speedily arose, ministered a debasing aliment to the taste for reading; though the libraries were gradually less frequented by the nobility in general, and fewer auditors were attracted by those recitations of poetry, which Horace describes with such affected horror, Juvenal with such morosely-sincere contempt, and Pliny with so much quiet pleasantry.*

But the recitations subsisted longer in a peculiar form, which is too curious to be left unnoticed. There were many Improvvisatori among the ancient Italians as well as among the modern: and the drama was not the only species of extemporaneous poetry, nor the low actors the only fluent declaimers. We can trace the improvised versification at court and in the palaces of the great through the whole duration of the empire, and the list of its votaries includes several illustrious names.† We find among them the old satirist Lucilius, the emperors Augustus and Titus, the poet Lucan, and, as the most famous and most ready of all, the poet Statius. The Eumolpus of Petronius, by his impassioned recitations in the picture-gallery and at the banquet, fills up the only link required to complete the analogy between the classical and the modern improvvisatori, by showing that the ancient extemporized verses were occasionally declaimed on the spot without being written down. When they were committed to writing, they formed such collections as the Sylvæ of Statius, which are genuine specimens of this class.

It is interesting to remark one other feature in the favourite amusements of the palace and the nobles, namely, their theatrical turn and aspect, which are well illustrated by the court-pageants in the reign of Nero.

* Horatii lib. i. Satir. iii. v. 85-89. Juvenalis Satir. i. ad init. Plinii lib. i. epist. 13.

† Raoul-Rochette, L'Improvisation Poétique chez les Romains Mémoires de l'Institut Royal; Classe d'Histoire, tome v., 1821.

We may take, as the first instance, a sort of masque which that ingenious debauchee exhibited shortly before he set fire to the city; and though the licentiousness of the scene must be passed over without description, its picturesqueness was very striking. In the Gardens of Agrippa, covering the ground behind the Pantheon, lay a large excavated lake, skirted by groves and pleasure-houses. Nero launched on the water an artificial floating island, representing a foreign landscape, through which he and his courtiers wandered amidst groups of exotic birds and rare quadrupeds. Galleys adorned with gold and ivory, and rowed by beautiful youths, towed the raft round the lake, on whose margin, as evening fell, innumerable lamps were suddenly lighted up, and illuminated the green alleys, where nymphs appeared singing and sporting beneath the shade.* The rage for masking which then prevailed is caricatured with great force in Trimalchio's feast in Petronius; and one other example will set it in a different light. A good many women of rank, weary of restraint, and not indisposed for the wildest license, caused booths to be erected in the avenues of trees which lined the wharf of Augustus, between the Aventine and the city-wall; and they then opened these booths as public taverns, in which they themselves attended, disguised as waiting-girls. Nero, delighted with the whim, not only carried his whole court to patronize the new pleasure-gardens, but distributed money with injunctions that it should be spent there. The disgraceful incidents which accompanied this wicked jest, were believed by contemporaries to have done more than any other folly of that reign to deteriorate the morality of Rome.†

Industry and Commerce.

We may now glance at the industry of the ancient

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* Taciti Annal. lib. xv. cap. 37.
† Ibid. lib. xiv. cap. 15.

Romans, and, in the first place, at their rural economy.*

The state of the laws in relation to agriculture must be understood before we inquire as to the practice of the art. In every respect but one the Roman legislators left husbandry unfettered; and this partial freedom enabled every branch of rural industry, except that on which the burden directly pressed, to bear up for centuries against many disadvantages. All over Italy the chase was free; there were frequent markets in every considerable village, but no one was obliged to sell his crops there; the transport of produce from one part of the country to another was subject to no taxes, tolls, or prohibitions; the roads were numerous and excellent; and the system of posts established under the empire, though it did not directly help any one besides the rulers, was beneficial indirectly by enforcing the preservation of the highways. But unfortunately those ancient lawgivers, like many modern ones, had no conception of the independent energy possessed by commerce and agriculture, when both are exempted from the interference of governments. Alarmed by the early experience of the republic, without being able to discern where the root of the evil lay, they lived in constant terror of famine; and, to avert this scourge, they adopted in legislation a principle as unlike as possible to what might have been expected from a senate of landholders, but yet as injudicious as any body of men could have possibly invented. They were much given indeed, at all periods, to fixing maximum prices on provisions of every sort, but in respect to corn they did what was even worse. Turning their attention exclusively to the means of procuring the immediate supply, and being most easily able to effect this end by importations from their own dependencies abroad, they not only unhesitatingly adopted this method, in

* Consult the Scriptores Rei Rusticæ (Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius), and Plinii Historia Naturalis. Dumont, Recherches sur l'Administration des Terres chez les Romains, 1779. Dickson's Husbandry of the Ancients, 1788.

itself unobjectionable, but blindly sacrificed, in order to maintain their system, all the interests of the cultivators and owners of land in Italy. As early as the third century of Rome the senate began to import large quantities of foreign grain, which they either distributed gratuitously among the great mass of the people, or sold at a heavy loss, sustained by the exchequer. This measure was practised with extreme frequency, and with an undiscriminating liberality that prevents us from regarding it in the light of an ordinary poor-law; the Gracchi attempted to make the gratuitous supply permanent by law; and Cicero's enemy Clodius effected the purpose by two acts which, passed in the year of the city 695, were kept in force by the emperors, and probably extended to several towns besides the metropolis. The direct loss to the treasury was the least evil. The price of Italian corn was never allowed to rise so high as to yield a fair profit; its cultivation was always more and more neglected; and, in the first age of the empire, Italy was already dependent on foreign countries for her very subsistence. The latest attempt that need be noticed, for reviving the culture of grain by statute, was of a piece with all which had gone before it. It was an edict of Domitian (which of course remained inoperative), that in the peninsula no new vines should be planted, and in the provinces half of those already growing should be cut down.*

Those who would trace Roman agriculture through all its stages from the point at which it was first systematically developed, may do so in the works of contemporary writers. Cato the Censor describes the art in the sixth century of the republic, when the imperfection in rural economy was more than compensated by the smallness of the estates,—the usual residence of the proprietors,—and the existence of a free peasantry. Varro treats of the seventh century, when the production of

* Contarenus De Frumentariâ Romanorum Largitione, cap. 2, 3; ap. Grævium, tom. viii.

wine and oil was at its height, the rearing of fruit-trees in rapid advance, and Italy, planted from sea to sea and from Calabria to the Alps, looked like one beautiful orchard;* but when, also, the growing of corn was rapidly sinking, the landholders were crowding to the towns, and the rural districts were covered by an increasing population of slaves. Columella wrote his treatise in the first century of the empire; and to his description Pliny has added from the succeeding age much curious information, and Palladius a few details.

The great evil of the imperial times was considered by the most intelligent Romans themselves to be the overgrown size of estates, which certainly had reached an extravagant pitch, when, as in the reign of Nero, half of the coast of Barbary belonged to six men. But Pliny and others assuredly overrated the bad effects of this circumstance, which, by itself, may be quite consistent with high agricultural prosperity. The relation, however, which this fact bore to others in the state of society, did in truth render it most powerful in effecting the ruin of the country, for it was one compartment of a structure rotten from the foundation. The class of petty landholders whom the princely aristocracy of the empire had annihilated, might, with great benefit to the state, have either sunk into the position of agricultural tenants, or migrated into the towns, there to become artisans, manufacturers, or traders. But no such outlet was open for them. Most of them settled as paupers in Rome and the other great cities, while the lands which they had been compelled to abandon were tilled by thousands of slaves. All the parts of this system, it is true, hung together as necessary concomitants, but the evils which their union wrought were lamentable and universal. The production of grain in Italy at length scarcely repaid the cost, and it was seldom grown at all except to be cut green as fodder for the cattle: the importation of foreign corn was incessant, and Rome was

* Varro De Re Rusticâ, lib. i. cap. 2.

again and again on the brink of annihilation by famine.* The slave-labourers, likewise, wanted both skill and zeal, and every department of husbandry decayed rapidly in their hands.

The agricultural writers of Rome divided their subject into three branches. The first and most profitable was the grazing of cattle, sheep, and goats; the next, which was peculiar to those times, consisted in the feeding of certain small animals for the shambles; and the third and least lucrative was the tillage of the ground, including both field-husbandry and the cultivation of gardens and orchards.†

The ancient grazing, when pursued on a large scale, was exceedingly like that of modern Italy. Most of the animals were pastured during the winter on the sheltered grounds of the plains, and shifted for the summer to the woody sides of the Apennines. Sheep and goats were by far the most common, and were kept for the sake of their wool and hair; for linen, long unknown in the country, was little used for clothing till late in the empire, and goat-hair and wool were universally worked into sailcloths, ropes, and such other articles as are now made of flax or hemp. The native breed of sheep composed the migrating flocks, which were far the most numerous. Another variety yielding finer wool, originally derived from Magna Græcia, and afterwards recruited from France, were considered more delicate: they were fed in the stall, covered with housings, not allowed to travel, and otherwise treated in a manner differing widely from modern practice.‡ The pasturages were, in some cases, private ground, belonging to the owners of the sheep, or hired by them; but more frequently they consisted of the extensive public

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* Columella, lib. i. Procem. Taciti Annal. lib. iii. cap. 53, 54; lib. xii. cap. 43. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

† Varro De Re Rusticâ, lib. iii. cap. 1. Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. vi. Procem. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. 5.

‡ Varro De Re Rusticâ, lib. ii. cap. 2. Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. vii. cap. 2.

lands, found in every province, and usually rented from the municipalities. The shepherds, like their modern representatives in the same regions, were all mounted on horseback; and when, after the battle of Cannæ, the Romans bought slaves and made soldiers of them, the troops thus raised included 270 Apulian herdsmen, who were drafted into the cavalry, and did gallant service.* The horned cattle were not numerous, being only reared for the plough, and as victims for sacrifice. Horses were scarcely considered necessary, except for the chariot-races and for mounting soldiers; mules were used for the draught in every way, and for the pack-saddle; but asses were seldom bred, except by the traders, who had troops of them for carrying agricultural produce to the neighbouring towns. All these animals were migratory like the native sheep. Swine were kept on the farms and in the woods; their flesh was more generally consumed for food than any other; and it, with that of a few calves, lambs, and kids, furnished, during several centuries, the only articles of animal sustenance which the Romans allowed to intrude on their vegetable diet. The ancient Italians, like the modern ones, fed their cattle as much as possible on the leaves of trees; and the elm was every where planted as a fence, because its leaves were best relished.

The rearing of small animals for the shambles was not systematized till the imperial times; the farm-yards and their towers at first containing only our common barn-door fowls and pigeons. There next appeared geese, ducks, teal, peacocks, and swans; and dormice, hedgehogs, and snails, were also fattened as delicacies. Aviaries were built, the birds, among which thrushes were the favourites, being intended for the table; and besides these were reared quails, turtle-doves, blackbirds, partridges, beccaficos, cranes, and pheasants. Parks, far smaller than ours, enclosed various sorts of wild animals,

* Le Beau Sur la Légion Romaine, Mémoire xi: Mémoires de l'Académie d'Inscriptions, tome xxxv. p. 203.

also for the kitchen; the most ordinary species being roe-deer, wild-boars, rabbits, and hares. Ponds of vast size were filled with fishes, both freshwater and marine.

The tillage of the ground, to which we next come, was injured by several misapprehensions, the consequences of which the husbandmen often exerted much industry in remedying. The great fault was a prejudice, expressed very strongly by the Latin writers, that agriculture ought to be kept quite distinct from the rearing of cattle.* The great extent of the public domain was another check. The plough was bad, and, till the best days of the empire were over, the whole process was performed by means of oxen. The secret of preventing deterioration by changing the seed-corn was still undiscovered. The reaping was executed awkwardly by two separate operations; and the grain, instead of being threshed, was either passed under heavy rollers, or trodden out by cattle on such open floors as are still to be seen in Italy. Water-mills, though sometimes used, were not common, while those moved by wind were quite unknown; and the corn was ground in small mills, turned by a slave or an ass, and usually attached to the bakers' shops. Manures, both animal and vegetable, were industriously collected. Of mineral ones the Romans made little use, though they knew that marl was applied in Gaul and Britain, and some of their agriculturists at length introduced lime.

Most of the large estates were cultivated by the proprietor on his own account. On extensive farms, the common practice was, that the ordinary labour should be executed by slaves kept on the ground; but that, for the occasional work, including in particular hay-making, vintage, and corn-harvest, the owner hired free labourers, who chiefly came down from the Apennines, as the mountaineers do at the present day in Italy, as well as in our own island. It was one of the taunts flung on

* Varro De Re Rusticâ, lib. ii. Procem. Columella De Re Rusticâ, lib. vi. Procem.

Vespasian, that his earliest ancestor known at Rome was a Gaul from beyond the Po, who had become wealthy by furnishing on contract bands of those poor highlanders to the landowners of Latium.* The slaves on a large manor were accurately classed and trained in different departments; the males being usually employed in the field-labour, while the females, confined within doors, manufactured clothing and other articles for the establishment or for sale.

Leases became more common under the emperors, and were of two kinds. There was, first, the tenant who paid a fixed rent in money or produce; but from this class of occupiers it is very clear that besides such payment personal services were commonly exacted: and, in the later times of the empire, the leaseholder usually received the apparatus of the vintage and oil manufacture as what we call in Scotland steelbow.† The other kind of tenant was the Colonus partiarius, the métayer of France, who can be traced in Italy from the time of Cato down to the present day. This class paid as rent a part of each crop, the proportions being different for corn, wine, and oil, and varying infinitely in different quarters; but it may be confidently inferred, from the large share usually exacted, that the landlord must generally, as among the modern Italians, have supplied the live stock for tilling the land.

In the early times of the republic the Romans had no other grain besides barley, which, after the introduction of various sorts of wheat, they no longer cultivated, except for the cattle. Oats, unknown till the period of the empire, were used only as fodder. Draining and irrigation were extensively practised, both for the arable land and the pastures. The grass meadows were usually sown with clover, to which vetches were added in renewing old pasture-lands; and, for the same uses, there

* Suetonius in Vespasiano, cap. ii.

† Schneider's Rei Rusticæ Scriptores (Lips. 1794); Commentar. in Catonis cap. 136-137. Columella, lib. i. cap. 7. Dig. lib. xix. tit. 2, leg. 19, Locati, conducti.

were also sown lucerne, fenugreek, and other plants, among which was the cytisus, a shrub not yet identified. But these artificial kinds of fodder seldom, and the grass-lands never, were included in the ordinary course of cropping on the farm. The occupier, raising no more food for cattle than his own working animals required, let out his meadows to graziers, who cultivated them for themselves. In a system like this, the rotations on the arable land were of necessity exceedingly imperfect; and indeed the common course, and the only one which the greater part of the land was considered capable of bearing, consisted of a year's cropping and a year's bare fallow alternately. In some districts the fallow was introduced every third year only; and on the very finest soils, which were hardly to be discovered except in the volcanic region of Campania, it was found possible to dispense with it altogether, by substituting the use of fertilizing agents, and following a careful rotation of three or four years.*

The leguminous plants, which were usually introduced in these modes of tillage, were the lupin, the common bean (which the poor mixed in flour with their wheaten bread), the vetch, the kidney-bean, and the pea. The Romans also cultivated in large fields, and ranked as articles of farm produce, roses and violets; both being used for perfumes, for giving their flavour to wine and oil, and the former not only for chaplets but for seasoning food. The most famous rose-gardens were those of Campania and the neighbourhood of Præneste. The simple arrangements of the kitchen-garden, described by Cato, speedily disappeared; a sort of green-houses and forcing-frames became extremely common; and Pliny mentions hotbeds for cucumbers, which, moving on wheels, could always be turned to face the sun.† From the date of the earliest foreign conquests there was a continual introduction of new exotics of this kind, chiefly Asiatic, one of these

* Varro, lib. i. cap. 44. Columella, lib. ii. cap. 9. Virgilii Georgic. lib. i. v. 71. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. 21, 23.

† Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. 5.

being the melon. The plants used in modern manufactures were little cultivated; but the best flax was grown in Lombardy and the Bolognese, the best hemp among the Sabine mountains; and the poor people near the towns, particularly about Rome, gained something by raising madder and teazle.

The importation of fruit-trees was still more extensive than that of herbs. In Julius Cæsar's days, the Romans had none but standard-trees in their orchards; and the following list comprehends all, or nearly all, the common sorts of fruit: figs (much used as a cheap food), walnuts, apples and pears, filberts, quinces, myrtle-berries, service-berries, and chestnuts. The common plum, the damson, and other wild plants native to the soil, but long neglected, were afterwards carefully improved, and all orchards began to abound in those foreign trees which were first imported towards the end of the republic. Among these were the lemon and other species of the genus citrus; the cherry was brought from Pontus by Lucullus in the year of the city 680, and found its way to Britain about a century afterwards; the almond was another such exotic; and the Latin names confessed the foreign origin of the pomegranate (Malum Punicum), and the peach (M. Persicum).

But the vine and the olive continued to be the only fruit-trees extensively reared. Pliny reckoned a hundred and ninety-five principal sorts of wine, eighty of which were good, and four-fifths of the eighty were of Italian growth. By far the most common method of cultivating the grape was the primitive one (which still keeps its hold in the country), of training the plants to trees, the ends of the vine-branch being thence carried down towards the ground, and fixed to long props, or else led along from one trunk to another by horizontal poles. The ground between the trees which supported the vines was sown with grain or vegetables. Some vines however were kept low, and propped like the modern French ones; others were carried round a ring of poles; and the poorest peasants allowed theirs to

trail on the ground. There were many modes of artificially preparing the wines, and giving them foreign flavours: the passum was made from raisins; the sapa and defrutum were made (like the modern Italian *vino cotto*, and the French *vin cuit*) from grape-juice boiled before it was allowed to ferment. The ancients were quite unacquainted with the process of distillation. After the year of the city 500, the olive oil of Italy was cheap and abundant; and, till the second or third century of the empire, it was considered the best in Europe, and was exported largely.

Forest-trees were little attended to; but there were many natural forests, chiefly of oak, elm, beech, larch, and pine, which were preserved for their timber. Copse-wood was also grown for fuel; and osiers were planted in millions, being used for binding the vines, and for making baskets, as well as many other domestic utensils.

From the rural economy of the Romans we turn to consider their progress in the mechanical arts, and the state of their foreign trade.*

But, as an introduction to this inquiry, we ought, perhaps, to require a minute answer to the question which occurs, as to the habits of expense common in the nation, and the direction which those habits in different periods assumed. After the earliest conquests abroad, this feature of the national character underwent several marked changes. The first stage was that in which the plunder of the wars was faithfully

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* Meursius De Luxu Romanorum, and Kobierzyckius De Luxu Romanorum; ap. Grævium, tom. viii. De Pastoret Sur le Commerce et le Luxe des Romains, et sur leurs Lois Commerciales et Somptuaires; Mémoires de l'Institut Royal, Classe d'Histoire, tomes iii. v. vii. Heeren, Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity (translations): The African Nations, 2 vols. 1832; The Asiatic Nations, 3 vols. 1833. Mengotti Del Commercio de' Romani dalla Prima Guerra Punica a Costantino; in vol. xliii. of the Collection of the Italian Writers on Political Economy; 48 volumes, Milan, 1803-5.

preserved for the state; and the statues, jewels, precious metals, and marbles of Sicily, Greece, and Macedon, adorned the public edifices of the city. The Scipios, Marcellus, Mummius, Paulus Æmilius, and Flamininus, were all remorseless spoilers, but none of them pillaged on his own account: on the contrary, they all lived frugally and died poor. In the next era, the generals and provincial governors plundered for themselves, as well as for the public; the love of splendid buildings, furniture, and works of art, now developed itself fully; and there appeared magnificent private houses and delightful gardens. Marius and Sylla were robbers, the latter, indeed, one of the worst the republic ever saw; and the evil was at its height in those wars that preceded the contest between Cæsar and Pompey. Peculation and wealth had then three noted representatives; the infamous Verres in Sicily; Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, whose Roman and Neapolitan palaces were the most gorgeous works of the commonwealth; and the unfortunate triumvir Crassus, who was wont to say that no man should be called rich if he could not maintain an army from his ordinary income. There still, however, reigned great personal plainness, which even in the succeeding age was exemplified in Augustus and his son-in-law Agrippa. But the Romans were now rapidly approaching the habits which they reached under Tiberius, when those who gave the law in extravagance lavished their wealth most willingly on clothing and food. Apicius the epicure belonged to this age, when the male sex were seen, likewise, to adopt the materials of the female dress; for Tiberius had to prohibit the wearing of silks by men, which, joined with other most effeminate fashions, speedily became universal. In the last age of the period now under review, the personal example of the emperors checked these forms of luxury, though they were never quite suppressed, being already ingrafted on the character of the people. The pomp of architecture and art, as we have already discovered, flourished through all changes; and the ideas of imperial projectors became more and more gigantic.

Caligula was unable to execute his plan of building a city on the summit of the Alps ;* but his palace on the Palatine and his enormous bridge, in themselves not unfit preparatives for such extravagant undertakings, were worthily emulated by Nero's Golden House and the Tiburtine Villa of Hadrian.

Such habits could not be satisfied by the natural resources of Italy, nor by the skill of its inhabitants. The soil, indeed, besides those articles of agricultural produce which have been above described, supplied some of the less important materials which are still derived from it; such as sulphur, saffron, and the iron of the mines in Lombardy. For using the native wool, as well as the finer varieties from foreign lands, large manufactories were established in all parts of the country; there were also considerable iron-works, chiefly in the north; and the branches of skilled industry required for the common uses of life, maintained themselves at the height they had already reached in other nations, but did not gain a single step. The results of the useful arts, in a few of the most durable materials, are exemplified in many extant specimens of ancient furniture and utensils; and the most instructive fact derived from inspecting such relics is, the great difference between the ornamental articles and those which are merely useful. In the former, designed for the rich, the utmost mechanical dexterity is displayed; in the latter, which were to be sold to the poor, or, at all events, to be kept out of sight, every thing is coarse, clumsy, and ill finished. Beautiful lamps, braziers, and vases, are to be found without number; but a well-made hinge, a neat lock and key, or an accurately fitted hand-mill, are things quite unknown. Those manufactures flourished most which were connected with the fine arts; and these, chiefly in the hands of foreigners, as directors if not as workmen, spread out in an infinite variety of departments. But, with all these aids, many articles of every-

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* Suetonius in Caligulâ, cap. 21, 52.

day use were still drawn from distant shores; and commerce necessarily extended itself.

It is curious to trace the revolutions of Roman opinion regarding trade. Their laws always discouraged it as an occupation for the higher classes, and the ages we are now considering show as little knowledge of its public advantages as those which had preceded. At the end of the second Punic war, when the Carthaginians delivered up a large fleet of merchant barks, the conquerors, instead of founding commercial greatness on this valuable acquisition, burned every one of the vessels, and employed none of the mariners. They destroyed the captured ships of Antiochus eleven years afterwards, and in 585 gave away to their industrious allies in Greece and its islands the mercantile navy of the Illyrians.* A century later they undertook, for the first time, a war which had the extension of commerce for its purpose: this was Julius Cæsar's invasion of Britain, where for some time they seemed to expect a second Spain or Sicily. In the reign of Augustus trade and manufactures had nearly reached their utmost limit. But the philosophers would not be converted; and Cicero, wishing to speak well of commerce, could devise nothing more commendatory to say of it than that it was one way, and not the most reputable, whereby a person might acquire the position which the great man himself was so vain of being supposed to occupy, that of a wealthy country gentleman.†

The progress of commerce was impeded by mechanical obstacles as weighty as the moral ones.‡ There was no established or convenient trade in money. The navigation of the ancients was, in all its arrangements, nothing better than a tedious creeping along the coasts. The carriage of goods overland was entirely performed, so far as regarded the rich Asiatic countries, by caravans

* Livii Histor. lib. xxx. cap. 43; lib. xxxviii. cap. 38, 39; lib. xlv. cap. 43.

† Cicero De Officiis, lib. i. cap. 41.

‡ Heeren, African Nations: Introduction, On Ancient Commerce.

like those of the middle ages;—a mode of intercourse evidently destitute of all the means that are indispensable for the conveyance of bulky articles; such, for instance, as the rice, sugar, and saltpetre, which India could have furnished to the Romans. Ancient commerce may be described as having been confined chiefly to the following commodities: corn, for the transportation of which the facilities were imperfect; wine, which was exported to a limited extent; oil, which travelled more readily; stuffs for clothing, chiefly the fine oriental fabrics, but very little of the raw material; and the precious productions furnished by the East, as well as by the mines of the whole known world.

The exports of ancient Italy were always extremely inconsiderable. So long as its manufactures maintained some degree of prosperity, the country itself was its only available market; and of its natural productions, it possessed none in an excess capable of forming the basis of an extensive trade, except its wine, which was sent abroad for a century or two, and its oil, which was an article of foreign commerce during a period considerably longer. When, therefore, we speak of the commerce of ancient Italy, we mean its imports. The most valuable of these was the foreign corn; for which the chief granaries, under the emperors, were Sicily, Barbary, and Egypt. The first of these countries, besides supporting long a considerable share of Grecian skill in the arts, maintained its agriculture throughout several centuries of the empire, and exported largely both its wine and its oil. Smaller supplies of corn came from Sardinia, Spain, Macedon, Asia Minor, Syria, and the coasts of the Black Sea. The other objects of Roman commerce, and the mercantile relations between Italy and the various nations subject to its government or influence, will be best understood if we cursorily glance at each of the principal states in succession.

The greatest part of Europe was open to Rome before the fall of the republic. Greece and the surrounding countries maintained with Italy a more extensive commerce than any other region of the west, furnishing

metals wrought and unwrought, marbles, honey, wine, wax, some minerals and spices, a little fine wool, and the purple cloths of Laconia. Gaul yielded metals, horses, fine wool from the territory of Narbonne, woollen cloths, and salted provisions. Spain exported large quantities of metals, and other minerals, with some wines. Germany, and the remaining countries of continental Europe, were in those ages unfit to supply almost any exchangeable commodity. Britain, neglected by Augustus, and reconquered by Claudius, still disappointed its invaders; but it yielded (besides some corn) timber, cattle, furs, coarse pearls, and the valuable iron, tin, and black lead of its mines. Ireland was long overlooked, and Diodorus calls its inhabitants cannibals; though the Romans had acquired rather a more accurate knowledge of it before the days of Tacitus.

But, during the luxurious times of the imperial government, far the most important commerce enjoyed by Italy was that with the Asiatic nations. From the countries of Asia Minor were received several valuable articles both for use and ornament, including the marbles of Phrygia, the iron of Pontus, and the fine wools of Ionia. From the coasts of Syria, as the mart or the place of production, came very large quantities of those spices and aromatic preparations which the ancient habits of the people rendered indispensable, with the purple cloth of Tyre, wines, precious stones, and the bitumen of Palestine. The myrrh, the amomum, and the nard, were brought from the odoriferous forests of Arabia, which also produced precious stones, pearls, marble, gold, and wine from its marvellous city Petra. India supplied pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and other spices, together with those delicate cotton fabrics, for which that country was then quite as famous as now, and which included muslins, calicoes, shawls, and all the varieties of goods which are at present sent to Britain. Through Hindostan, too, the Romans received the spun silk and silk stuffs of the country called Serica, that is, the modern China, with the regions on its western border; and thence also they had the malabathrum, which has been

suspected, though probably without sufficient reason, to have been the leaves of the tea-plant.*

Africa was of course no farther accessible than along its coasts. Alexandria, however, the port of Egypt, was the main depôt for all Asiatic merchandise ; and the land of the Pharaohs itself yielded cotton, flax, glass, marbles, precious stones, wines, perfumes, papyrus, some medicinal herbs, and a few minerals. From the ports on the northern shores of Africa came the productions of Barbary, together with those articles of commerce which were procured from the interior by barter with the negro tribes, or by the robbery of their villages. The list included gold and gold-dust, ivory, cotton, precious stones, marble, several sorts of ornamental wood for furniture, and large droves of black slaves.

THE THIRD PERIOD:

A. U. 933—1229, OR A. D. 180—476.

During the three centuries that preceded the dissolution of the western empire, the political world was a scene where gradual decay was interrupted only by destructive convulsions. The morality of the people was as bad as their general weakness of character permitted it to be ; and their old religion, which waned and sank during those ages, was succeeded by a form of Christianity already too corrupted to struggle successfully against the growing vice and misery. The pagan features of the times are those which it is here intended to illustrate ; but, in speaking of Italy, we may safely borrow much, for this purpose, from its history after the reign of Constantine, because in that country the ancient character and the ancient faith possessed a stronghold which was the last they evacuated.

If we wish to study the religion of the learned pagans in the Lower Empire, we should principally use as our

* De Pastoret, Mémoire iii. Heeren, Asiatic Nations, vol. iii. chap. 2. Historical and Descriptive Account of China (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. chap. 4.

text-books the writings of the Latter Platonists of Alexandria, which lie beyond the scope of these pages. But we may glean something as to the philosophical theology, and much as to the belief of the people, from other sources less scholastic; and four popular treatises, all belonging either to the earliest age of this period, or to the last of that preceding, throw a strong light on the new shape which had been assumed by the heathen superstitions.* We trace little or nothing of the native mythology of Italy; but the Greeks diffused throughout that country new and often scandalous versions of their own legends. As instances, may be quoted the Aedon of Antoninus, which is an exaggeration of the horrors of Progne's tragedy; and his Cephalus and Procris, in which that touching story is disgustingly debased. Original fictions also were invented with new names; and there appeared a class of ghost-stories altogether unexampled. Their costume is decidedly oriental, their tone of feeling is gloomy and overwrought, and their apparitions have an unclassical materialism which is sometimes absolutely harrowing. Such is Phlegon's tale of the cannibal-ghost of Polycritus the Ætolarch, which is a demon standing, as it were, half-way between the Arabian goule and the Levantine vampire. An example still more characteristic is a fragment of the same writer, which relates the fatal adventure of the youth Machates with the dead girl Philinnion; a romance of the wildest outline, whose spectral voluptuousness Goethe has closely imitated in his ballad of the Bride of Corinth. Apollonius gives us oriental fables; like that of Hermotimus, whose soul wandered through space, leaving its body senseless on the ground; of Aristeas, whose ghost traversed Sicily after his death at Proconnesus; and of Epimenides of Crete, who slept fifty-seven years. While the science of reading dreams made every thought of the mind symbolical, the actual phenomena

* The Book of Marvels, by Hadrian's favourite, Phlegon of Tralles; the Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis; the Invented Histories of Apollonius Dyscolus, a fellow-student of Marcus Aurelius; and the Dream-Book of Artemidorus.

of the material world were looked on as equally significant, and those most eagerly reported were the alarming and the unnatural. Monstrous births were described and exaggerated; and there were rumours of earthquakes which laid bare the skeletons of buried Titans. In those last ages of paganism, magic became more common than ever, and its rites were never more shocking. The Syrian emperor Heliogabalus, who in his youth was the priest of Gabal, or the sun, at Emesa, tore the noblest Italian boys from their parents, slew them with his own hand on the altar of his god, and attempted with the aid of oriental diviners to read the will of heaven by those horrible sacrifices.* Astrology continued to flourish, and alchemy, its new ally, was in vain attacked by edicts of Diocletian.

Education became for a time, in form at least, more complete for the few, but it died away almost entirely for the many. The schools in the small towns decayed or were shut up altogether; and, about the reign of Theodosius, we see the emperors even distrusting the public seminaries, and withdrawing the liberty which every man till then enjoyed of opening a place of instruction wherever he chose. But repeated laws, from Hadrian downwards, directed the decurions of the towns to examine and license a fixed number of teachers in law and literature, promising to these professors exemptions and salaries. The most famous academies of the Western Empire were those of Africa and Gaul; and that of Milan was esteemed the second in Italy. In the East, Alexandria maintained its reputation; and the law-schools of Berytus and Constantinople rivalled, from the fourth century, the fame of the Roman jurisconsults. In Rome, however, in the year 425, Theodosius II. and Valentinian founded a regular college, assigning to it halls in the Capitol, and fixing its number of professors as follows: ten teachers of the Latin grammar and literature, with three for Latin eloquence; ten teachers of the Greek grammar and literature, and five of Greek

* Ælius Lampridius in Heliogabalo, cap. 8.

eloquence; two teachers of law, and one of philosophy. This new establishment, and all others, were subject to strict regulations, which had been fixed in the year 370 for the academies then existing, and continued long with little or no alteration. As the edict which contained these is our oldest attempt at framing university-statutes, a few of the rules may be described. No student was to be admitted to the schools either of Rome or Constantinople, unless he exhibited certificates from the government of his province, attesting his birth, domicile, and character, and unless he also declared what studies he meant to pursue. The city-magistrates were charged to keep strict watch over the young men, their lodgings, their industry, their associates, and their behaviour in all companies; and if any one conducted himself improperly, they were entitled to whip him publicly, and send him home. All students were to be forced to leave the city on the completion of their twentieth year. The public teachers enjoyed extensive exemptions from personal services and burdens; similar privileges were extended to the physicians; and in every town a certain number of these received a public allowance of provisions, or equivalents for them, in consideration of their attendance on the poor. In Rome there were two classes of privileged medical men; the physicians of the imperial household, and the fourteen appointed to practise in the fourteen regions of the city.*

Of the public spectacles in ancient Rome, it only remains to notice the ultimate fate. The Christian ecclesiastics protested vehemently against all of them; but the abuse long resisted both the church and the emperors. Constantine abolished the religious processions which used to commence the games; and after his accession we hear of no more real fights in the naumachiæ; but he was unable to effect any thing more. His law prohibiting the combats of gladiators remained a dead letter

* Heineccii Antiquit. Roman. ad Institut. Proœm.; ad Instit. lib. i. tit. 25. Conringius De Studiis Liberalibus Urbis Romæ et Constantinopoleos. Gothofredus ad Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 3. Cod. Justin. lib. x. tit. 52; lib. xi. tit. 18.

till the year 404, when, amidst the triumph of Honorius on the retreat of Alaric, Telemachus, an eastern monk, rushing into the arena of the Colosseum, strove to part the swordsmen. The populace, in fury, tore up the stone seats and murdered the holy man; but they speedily grew ashamed of their cowardly deed, and submitted quietly to a prohibition of the combats, which the emperor seized the opportunity of issuing. The races, the mock sea-fights, and the theatrical exhibitions, survived the fall of the Western Empire.

The character of the Italians in those gloomy times, offers little over which there is any temptation to linger. The foolish parade and sinful extravagance of the court, or the pride and indolence of the nobles, are not more disheartening than the moral and intellectual darkness of the people at large. Society in Rome during the fourth century of our era, when its population was still substantially pagan, has been described by a contemporary, cynically rude, but observant and strictly honest, from whose sketches one or two groups may be copied.

The first scene which attracts our notice might have been painted from life in the streets of the papal city in the middle ages. In the year 355, Leontius, the prefect, raised a sedition by imprisoning one of the favourite charioteers for a misdemeanour; and warm weather, aided by the dearness and scarcity of wine, co-operated with the original offence to rouse the populace again. They assembled tumultuously in the hollow between the Cælian and Palatine Mounts, where their position was covered by the Nymphæum of Marcus Aurelius, and the Septizonium or sepulchre of Septimius Severus. The magistrate drove into the midst of the crowd, sitting in his chariot, and surrounded by his guards: he addressed them, and was interrupted by shouts of defiance. He fixed his eye on a tall man who was particularly active, and whom he recognised as being one who had been denounced as dangerous. The fellow, being asked his name, avowed it with insolent triumph; on which Leontius instantly ordered him to be seized, stripped, tied to

a pillar, and scourged in the midst of his followers. The mob, terrified by their governor's resolution, looked on a while in silence, and then slowly dispersed.*

The same historian has painted roughly, and with exaggeration and disfavour, a portrait of the populace of Rome in his own times, and another of the nobility.† Many features of his description are the common characteristics of a state of society in which the people are poor, numerous, indolent, and vicious, and the few nobles rich, sensual, and haughty. But some particulars have more individuality. The multitude were still paupers, and from the time of Aurelian their laziness was more favoured than ever; for thenceforth, instead of monthly allowances of corn, they received every day loaves of a specified weight, on presenting the government tickets at the bakers' shops. Their time and their pittance of money were divided between the wine-shops, the dice-table, the bagnio, and the places where the public shows were exhibited. In the theatres, when they were tired of hissing the actors, they cursed the foreigners whom they saw around them, and clamoured for their expulsion; although, as their historian sarcastically observes, they and their city could not, but for these very foreigners, have continued to exist. Those degenerate Romans had personal pride, too, as well as national: walking barefoot, and in rags, they aped their superiors in assuming sonorous appellations, which their ignorance conceived to be classical; and the Cimessores, Statarii, Semicupæ, Pordaci, and Trullæ, held their heads higher for reflecting that they represented the ancient plebeians. The nobles set them the fashion of effeminacy, licentiousness, gaming, and pride of idle words. They had their gradations of honorary titles bestowed by the court; they had family names heaped one upon another, and formed with a barbarism which the historian's fictitious examples do but slightly caricature.‡ Their

* Ammiani Marcellini Historiarum lib. xv. cap. 7.

† Ibid. lib. xxviii. cap. 4. Gibbon, chapter xxxi.

‡ See the Indices to Gruter's Inscriptions. There are few pages that will not furnish instances.

conduct towards the commonalty was worthy of a race who, while they boasted that they were the only privileged class in the state, were not ashamed to be slaves in their relation to the sovereign. When we read of the wanton outrages which they perpetrated with impunity on the burghers, and of that haughty contempt which they would have had their inferiors to acknowledge as condescending indulgence, we wonder that human patience was not worn out, and that universal revolution did not avenge insults which the law was powerless to punish. But when we recollect how degraded were the oppressed class themselves, we feel that the regeneration of society, if it was to take place, must come to such a people from other hands than their own.

And the bloody consummation drew rapidly near. Amidst those fallen patricians, and that insolent yet spiritless populace, there were mixing, more and more thickly, in every corner of the land, groups of the barbarian mercenaries who composed the armies of the state; and scenes were not unfrequent, which, like menacing visions, presignified to the Romans the approaching ruin of their name. The great Theodosius himself had to court the Gothic captains, whose tribes followed him; and those rude borderers from the Danube feasted daily in the imperial halls among the refined Italian and Greek nobility. Two of the chiefs, Fraust and Priulf, quarrelled at the emperor's table, and in his presence; and he was compelled to break up the banquet. The Goths left the palace in hot dispute, and Fraust, suddenly drawing his sword at the gate, cleft his enemy's skull. The dead man's retainers attacked the assassin, who was rescued, after a bloody fight, by the palace-guards. Theodosius, the very best and bravest of the later Roman princes, dared not either to prevent this act of bloodshed, or to avenge it.*

We have still to glance at the statistics of Italy in the Lower Empire. The inquiry has been partially anti-

* Zosimi Historiarum lib. iv. cap. 56.

cipated in the sketch already given of the municipal system in those times; and our view of the position held by the burghers of the Italian towns will be as extensive as it is here possible to make it, if we learn a few particulars regarding the condition of the artificers and traders, and the decline both of manufactures and foreign commerce. The disheartening picture will be completed by a slight outline of the state of agriculture and of the rural population.

The account already given of the foreign trade of Italy, may be strictly applied to a considerable part of the period now under review. But among the changes which took place, the old Roman dislike to commerce at this time both revived, and grew stronger in a new shape. It now assumed the form of that prejudice which, in most modern nations, considers trade degrading to the aristocracy; the legislature at last adopted the ruinous opinion; and an edict of Honorius prohibited the nobles from engaging in commerce, alleging, however, for the reason, a wish to preserve it as a monopoly to the plebeians.* Still the habits of the Italians continued, for a time, to create a demand for foreign luxuries, which, notwithstanding much impoverishment and the constant downfal of ancient families, cannot be said to have diminished till the fifth century. The ports of the Eastern Empire derived much of their prosperity from their trade in precious commodities, with which they supplied the provinces of the West; and, till the reign of Augustulus, the nobles wore dresses made of Asiatic silks, and of cloths embroidered with silver and gold.

The manufactures which ministered to these and other requirements of luxury, gave employment to considerable bodies of artisans in the larger towns; and the guilds, long regarded as dangerous by the emperors, sometimes suppressed and always discountenanced, at last acquired a general recognition, which may be fixed as early at least as the reign of Alexander Severus. Thenceforth

* Cod. Justin. lib. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3.

there were numerous authorized societies of this kind, each of which had its office-bearers, its chapel or religious ceremonies, its common fund, its by-laws, its processions, and its standards.

The curious details of the laws describing the corporations would not to any extent aid us in determining the comparative prosperity of the several branches of industry. Indeed, any conclusion to which they would carry us is unfavourable to the state of the crafts enumerated: for with regard to the architects and other persons practising the liberal arts, the decay of skill and scarcity of students are expressly set forth as the causes which make it necessary to confer privileges, in the hope of producing a revival. Several of the finest branches of manufacture were carried on in imperial establishments, which enjoyed a monopoly of supplying the army and all public servants. As to most of the other practical pursuits, especially those which related to the necessaries of life, the facts are yet more discouraging; for the laws in regard to them established some of the very worst principles which we have seen adopted in reference to the town-councils. The mariners, bakers, and some others, were not only bound in their own persons to follow their trade for life, within their own town or its district, without being freed from this slavery by any possible means; but the obligation was transferred and made binding on every one connected with them, no matter how remotely. The son and grandson entered by compulsion their father's craft; marriage with the daughter of an artisan bound the son-in-law to the same calling; the inheritance of private property had a similar effect; and even a purchase of lands for an adequate price exposed the buyer to find himself forced into the trade of the baker, shipowner, or cattle-dealer, who had been the seller. It may interest us to learn, that there are strong reasons for believing this wretched constitution of the guilds to have been introduced by the Romans into our own country.*

* Gothofredus ad Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 4, 5, 6; lib. xiv. tit. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8. Pancirollus De Corporibus Artificum, ap.

When we survey the agricultural population of Italy under the Christian empire, we see the number of slaves rapidly diminishing. They make room for a new class, standing midway between freedom and slavery, and known by various descriptive names :—Coloni, Originarii, Adscriptitii, Inquilini, Tributarii, Censiti. Their status was the origin of the Italian serfs or villeins of the dark and middle ages.* The prominent features of their position were the following. They were nominally freemen, and most of them Roman citizens; but they were subject to the same corporal punishments as slaves, and,—which was the pivot upon which their lot turned, —they were irremovably attached to the soil of the estate where they were born, and bound for life to cultivate a prescribed portion of it, the fruits of which they themselves enjoyed, paying the proprietor a fixed rent in money or kind, though yielding no personal services. As they durst not leave the lands, so the proprietor could not remove them ; but if he sold the ground, the coloni were necessarily transferred to the purchaser along with it. They could possess property of their own, which the owner of the estate (their patronus) was not entitled to touch ; but he was usually empowered to prevent their alienating it, that his lands might have the advantage of it as agricultural capital ; though some classes of coloni could dispose of their goods at pleasure. They were, as we have seen, subject to the poll-tax ; but the patron was responsible for it to the treasury, and paid it in the first instance. There is no trace of any process of manumission for them, nor of any possible mode of dissolving the bonds by which they were rivetted to the soil, except a prescriptive absence, of thirty years for men, and twenty for women ; which absence, if spent in freedom, made the parties free, and, if spent in service

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Grævium, tom. iii. Heineccii Opusculorum Sylloge i. Exercitatio 9. Palgrave's English Commonwealth, part i. chapter x.

* See, on this interesting but neglected subject, a most satisfactory and minute dissertation by Savigny (Ueber den Römischen Colonat), in the Transactions of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin for 1822-3 ; and, also in that volume, the same writer's paper on the Imperial Taxation.

on other lands, transferred them to the new manor. If a colonus became a priest (for they were held capable of receiving ordination), the patron was still entitled to retain him on the estate, and exact the accustomed rent and labour from him. These peasants, so strangely situated, were protected by their annexation to the soil, and by a rule which prohibited the imposition of new burdens, or a rise of rents; and it was also law, that if a domain were divided among joint proprietors, there should be no separation of married people, parents and children, or even near kinsfolk.

Instances of a class thus constituted were to be found in Italy as early at least as the time of Constantine;* and this date, with other facts, makes it impossible to account for their rise in that country on the theory which has been proposed as to the villeins of our own islands,—that they were a native population enslaved by invaders. The Italian coloni bore some likeness to the old Roman clients, and a stronger one to the serfs of the ancient Germans, as they are described by Tacitus; but neither can they be traced to either of these sources. There is equal difficulty in supposing them to have originally been, as one hypothesis bears, slaves emancipated under conditions of villeinage. Another theory, the most plausible of all,—though it likewise is subject to objections as a general rule,—is suggested by facts which are described by a priest of Marseilles in the middle of the fifth century, as actually taking place in Gaul before his own eyes.† Salvianus says that the free husbandmen who cultivated small farms belonging to themselves, were crushed to the dust by taxes, at once oppressive and dishonestly levied; that numbers of them abandoned

* Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 10, De Censu. Cod. Justinian. lib. xi. tit. 47, l. 2 (an edict addressed to the governor of Æmilia).

† Salvianus De Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. Bibliotheca Patrum, Lugd. tom. viii. particularly p. 359-361. The whole book is full of curious statistical notices. The leading passage is quoted in Ducange's Glossary (ad vocem "Colonus"); and the facts are stated and animadverted on by Savigny, who, however, does not consider the theory as of general application.

their possessions, and took from the rich landholders either these or other lands, to be cultivated by them as coloni, on conditions which saved them from the severities of the tax-gatherer, but left them scarcely a vestige of either property or personal freedom.

In the hands of this class, agriculture fell yet lower than it had sunk even with the slaves. The wines of Italy were already worthless; the olives now decayed likewise; and the whole peninsula yielded little beyond a few cattle, some mineral produce, and the last timber of its magnificent old forests. It was a starving country: the people thronged into the large towns, especially Rome, to cry for bread; and the emperors, who seldom resided in that city, or even within the Alps, had to ship corn oftener than ever, as the only means of saving the ancient metropolis from becoming equally desolate with the waste which already stretched for miles around its walls. We possess the correspondence of Symmachus, who was prefect of the city under the first two Valentinians, Theodosius, and Honorius. Writing to his friends, he describes his Italian estates as going to utter wreck, the government as neglecting all measures of prudence and justice, the populace as hungry and clamorous, the crops as failing all over the peninsula, and the municipalities as in vain imploring aid from the court. To the emperors he addresses officially, year after year, and strengthens by deputations, the most vehement entreaties for speedy help. In one letter he represents the whole population of Rome as fed by the charity of a few rich men, who, however, had nothing to give except spoilt corn, which was every where generating disease; the provinces, he says, fail in delivering the rations assigned to the city from the government taxes; the emperors promise while the people are famishing; and the position of Italy is described as one in which good fortune alone can bring relief, and where human wisdom is powerless. But in the midst of this universal misery, and while the prefect reproaches his friends with hunting and spending their days in mirth, he himself writes eagerly for wild beasts to appear at his games; and, in the same breath in

which he prays Theodosius not to forget to save the Romans from starving, he conjures him not to insist on shutting up the Circus and the Theatre.* In Campania itself, the orchard of the south, Honorius was compelled in the year 395 to expunge from the tax-roll, as become utterly waste, more than three hundred thousand acres of land. Rutilius, writing a quarter of a century later, describes Tuscany as degenerating into a wide forest without dwellings, its fields as uncultivated, its Aurelian highway as flooded and impassable, and the bridges as every where broken down and left unrepaired.

The last age of the empire in Italy presented, in all its relations, a scene that tempted men to despair; and from every record which it has left, from the works of historians, lawgivers, statesmen, philosophers, and divines, might be collected a volume of gloomy forebodings. Two men of eloquence and learning, who in the latter half of the fourth century stood opposed to each other in the face of Europe, the champion of the old faith and the priest of the new, concurred in the despondency with which they contemplated the aspect of the world.† The one was Symmachus, the heathen senator and prefect of Rome. Over the reflections that saddened him, he throws his favourite veil of classical allusion. "You complain," says he, in a letter to a friend, "that I send you no narrative of public events. What if I answer, that it is better to let them pass unnoticed? The ancient oracles have grown dumb; in the grotto of Cumæ are read no mystic characters; no voice issues from the tree of Dodona; no chanted verse is heard amidst the vapours of the Delphic cell. And we, mortal and impotent, who owe our very existence to the act of a rebellious demigod, may most wisely learn from the silence of heaven, and ponder in quiet

* Symmachi Epistolarum ad Diversos, lib. ii. ep 7, 52; lib. iv. ep. 18, 68; lib. vi. ep. 14; lib. x. ep. 21, 26, 34, 38, 43, 55, 57.

† Symmachi lib. iv. epist. 33. Sancti Ambrosii Epistolarum classis i. ep. 39. (Edit. Parisiis, 1690.)

over that sad history of our race, for which the book of prophecy has no longer a leaf!" The Christian bishop, Saint Ambrose of Milan, expresses the same feelings in a different tone. He describes a journey in which are passed successively Bologna, Modena, Reggio, and Piacenza. Those ancient cities lie half-ruined and half-unpeopled; among the valleys of the Apennines stretch wide uncultivated wastes, where of old the land bloomed like a garden; and on the surrounding heights the site of once flourishing villages is marked by mouldering and roofless walls. The pious churchman speaks of the grief which we feel for departed friends, as softened by our trust that they have passed to a purer life; but for his country he has no such hope of renewed existence: her prosperity is sunk for ever.

Both the Pagan and the Christian misinterpreted the signs of the times. Italy was doomed to endure a penance of centuries; but her destiny among the nations was not to be fulfilled, till she should again have guided Europe to political wisdom and intellectual activity.

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The Author, deeply impressed with the importance of his task, has anxiously sought every means of rendering its performance complete and satisfactory. In tracing the condition and history of the aboriginal tribes, he has had access to extensive works in the French language, to which former writers appear to have been strangers. He has devoted much attention to the statistics and present state of the colonies; an undertaking attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the recent changes, which have rendered all previous information in a great measure useless. Hence, besides the works of Bouchette, M'Gregor, Martin, and others, it was necessary to examine the tables published by the Board of Trade, the voluminous reports laid before Parliament, and to compare them with the narratives of the latest travellers and residents.

Even with all these resources, it was found impossible to render the information complete, without many personal communications. Particular acknowledgments are due to Sir George Simpson, the enlightened resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Establishment, who has furnished a large store of original information respecting their trade, and the general state of the fur countries. A gentleman, who long carried on mercantile transactions, and still maintains an extensive correspondence in Canada, contributed the valuable chapter on commerce. An intelligent friend, filling an important situation at St John, Newfoundland,

transmitted full and recent statistical details relative to that colony. Respecting Prince Edward Island, very useful materials were supplied by Mr Stewart, a gentleman deeply concerned there both as proprietor and manager. To Mr Bruyeres and other distinguished persons connected with the Land Companies, the Author is indebted for several important communications. From other sources of high authority, which cannot here be fully particularized, valuable information, otherwise inaccessible, has been obtained.

Emigration, the most important light under which British America can be viewed, will be found to have occupied a very prominent place in the writer's researches. He has endeavoured to supply the intending settler with more comprehensive and precise details than have hitherto been collected. The prospects which will open to the emigrant, the course which he ought to pursue, the difficulties to be encountered, and the best means of overcoming them, have been considered at full length. In subservience to this object, a very minute account has been given of the different districts, their situation, climate, and soil, in connexion with their natural and acquired advantages of every description.

The branches of Natural History, Zoology, Botany, and Geology, have been very carefully illustrated by Mr Wilson, Dr Greville, and Professor Traill,—gentlemen whose names afford a sufficient guarantee for the value and accuracy of their information.

To illustrate these various subjects the utmost care has been taken to prepare a series of maps exhibiting at once the general geography of British America and its most important localities. One, on a large scale, comprehends all the provinces already occupied, while four of smaller dimensions show the topography of those districts which are best adapted for settlement. Various divisions and towns that have recently sprung up, and could not be included in any former map, have been carefully marked. To the Third Volume is annexed a delineation of the whole of the Northern and Western Regions which form the theatre of the fur trade, and of those recent expeditions which had for their object an extended knowledge of the remote shores and neighbouring seas.

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